

BULLETIN
OF THE
**American Schools of Oriental
Research**

JERUSALEM

BAGHDAD

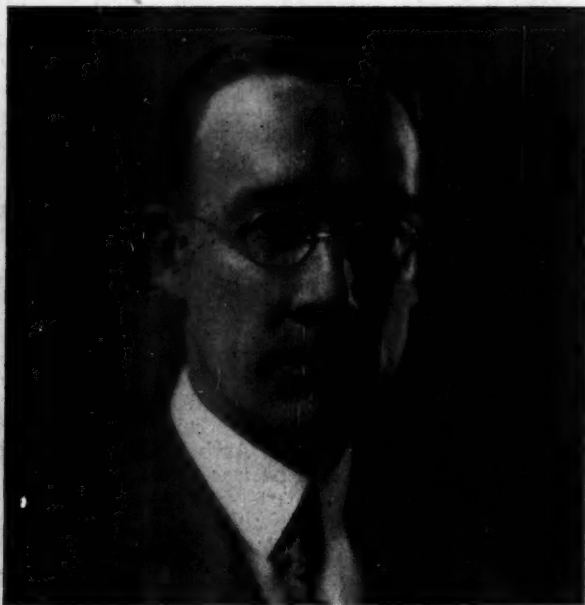
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ELIHU GRANT, 1873-1942.

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ELIHU GRANT

On the 2nd of November a fine and good man departed this life, one whose interest in and aid to numerous worthy institutions and people will never be fully known, even to those who knew him best. In late May Dr. Grant was operated on for a tumor of the brain. He began a successful recovery, but a blood clot soon developed from which he never recovered; for five months he lay in a state of coma. With his passing the Schools have lost another good friend and generous supporter.

Ordained as a Methodist minister in 1900, he began his academic career as superintendent of American Friends' Schools in Ramallah and Jerusalem (1901-1904). Returning to this country, he served as Professor of Biblical Literature, first at Smith College between 1907 and 1917, and then at Haverford College from 1917 until his retirement in 1938 (having joined the Society of Friends in 1911). Three books were the direct result of his teaching interests: *The Orient in Bible Times* (1920); *The Bible as Literature* (1914), of which he was co-author with I. F. Wood; and *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible* (1938), of which he was the editor.

One of his life-long interests was the life of the Palestinian *fellāhin*, concern and love for whom began with his close association with them in the Friends' Schools. Three of his books are witness of this interest: *The Peasantry of Palestine: the Life, Manners and Customs of the Village* (1907), *The People of Palestine* (1921), and *Palestine Today* (1938). Yet the extent of his interest in the Arab cause went far beyond the publication of these books, and many Arab leaders and peasants will long remember him. At his death he was president of the American Friends of the Arabs.

His interest in archaeology was stimulated by the same early association with Palestine, when Macalister was carrying on his energetic excavations at Gezer. For several years he was the American representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Between 1928 and 1933 he directed four campaigns of excavations at 'Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh), assisted in the first two campaigns by Fisher and in the fourth by Rowe.

The preliminary reports of his discoveries were published promptly: *Beth-shemesh* (1929); *Ain Shems Excavations*, Part I (1931), Part II (1932), and Part III under the title *Rumeileh*, the name of the tell (1934). It was the writer's privilege to be associated with him in the publication of the definitive reports, Parts IV and V, in 1938 and 1939. One result of these excavations is the Haverford Archaeological Museum, which contains the most complete collection of Palestinian pottery in America. Several institutions are now profiting by loan collections from this Museum under a policy inaugurated by its founder.

Dr. Grant was a shy, retiring personality, and for this reason not always understood by his associates and friends. Yet a more sincere and devoted man of good will has rarely walked this earth. He was one in whom the quality of mercy was not strained, and whose charity issued in numerous directions unknown to all but the recipients.

G. ERNEST WRIGHT.

The news of Elihu Grant's death came as a shock to all his many friends and admirers. I had known him for over twenty-five years, and had often been his guest or his host in this country and in Palestine. During the years in which we were both excavating in southern Palestine, it was a constant source of pleasure and instruction to visit his *chantier* at Beth-shemesh. There was always something interesting to examine: new pottery, complex stratification, a tablet in Ugaritic cuneiform, an ostrakon containing the longest inscription in the Canaanite alphabet from the Bronze Age that has yet been found. . . . His never-failing sympathy with his Arab workmen and neighbors contrasted pleasingly with the indifference of some other archaeologists. On many occasions he was of service to me, always in kindly, unobtrusive ways. It was accordingly an unusual pleasure to reciprocate in helping him to organize the excavation at Beth-shemesh, in planning the *Haverford Symposium* with him, and so forth.

The passing of Dr. Grant is sad news for all friends of the American Schools of Oriental Research, with which he had been associated for many years in various capacities. From 1929 to 1934 he was professor (in an honorary capacity) at the School in Jerusalem; from 1935 to 1938 he was trustee of the Schools. In 1937-38 he was annual professor at the School in Baghdad. He was also a life member of the Schools.

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

Of the work and publications of Elihu Grant others have written. It is mine to express a tribute of appreciation for the friends at Haverford among whom he lived and labored. With the passing of this good man we have lost a noble friend and a worthy colleague. His memory lives on because of his spiritual influence in college and community. His students admired him for his broad learning, his beautiful facility of

expression, his deep and genuine sincerity and his inspiring teaching. Many of them found in him a wise and sympathetic friend, and numbers of his students have kept in touch with him for many years after leaving college.

So high and uncompromising were his ideals of achievement, of values, of justice in human relationships, that he suffered keenly in the presence of anything that fell short of the ideal.

He had a primary interest in people, which showed itself in all his associations and activities wherever he moved. In his work as director of the American Friends Schools at Ramallah, his gentle friendliness won a warm response from the humble folk whom he loved and championed. Even in his archaeological work this human interest was present, for he felt that he was coming close to an understanding of the living people's life when he could reconstruct the life of their forebears in the distant past.

His name will always be indissolubly associated with Beth-shemesh and the Haverford Expeditions. Two memorials of that enterprise he left behind him: the Beth Shemesh Museum at Haverford and his archaeological volumes, which constitute the first complete publication of any recent Palestinian excavation.

JOHN W. FLIGHT.

FORTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Trustees of the Schools:

GENTLEMEN,

Following the practice inaugurated last year, I shall deal in this report with the calendar year now ending instead of the fiscal year ending June 30.

We have had so many losses by death during the past few years, and the membership of our Board has consequently changed so rapidly, that one is especially thankful not to be compelled to report for the past year any deaths among the members of our Board or staff. One trustee, Mr. Edward Warburg, has found it necessary to resign, having joined the nation's armed forces, and his place has not yet been filled, but much as we regret losing his help for the present, that is a sacrifice any organization must expect to be called upon to make in these times.

Two good friends and former members of this Board have been taken from us during the year. Professor George A. Barton had been for many years Director of our Baghdad School and for an even longer term our Treasurer. He was also one of the first Directors of the Jerusalem School. Professor Elihu Grant not only served us for some years as a Trustee but was also one of our Life Members, went out as Annual Professor of our Baghdad School one year, and was closely associated with our work in Palestine. Several years ago we published his *Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, which is still in considerable demand. In the person of Sir Flinders Petrie we lost this year another close friend of our organization, though he had no official connection with it.

In spite of being now in the war ourselves, it is fortunately not necessary to report, as it was last year, that our archaeological work in the field is suspended. The resumption of Dr. Glueck's archaeological survey of Transjordan, with the approval of our government and the cooperation of the Smithsonian Institution, is most gratifying. The many readers of Dr. Glueck's fascinating news-letters know that the results of this part of the survey will be comparable in importance with the discoveries made in previous campaigns.

Meanwhile, under the capable management of Mrs. Pommerantz, our buildings in Jerusalem continue to be in use on a self-supporting basis. What has happened to similar institutions in other countries makes us realize how extraordinarily fortunate we have been. May the service we render be worthy of our good fortune!

Dr. Engberg, whose appointment as Director of the Jerusalem School expires at the end of the current fiscal year, has been granted leave of absence by the Executive Committee in order to take advantage of an opening in a quite different kind of work. We congratulate him on the opportunity even while we miss his efficient assistance in the home office and regret that his archaeological training and experience are for the present unfruitful. We appreciate also his repeatedly demonstrated devotion to our work and interests, and we know that the same fine spirit and ability will be manifested in any work he undertakes.

The Baghdad School has not conducted any work in the field this year. Study and publication of the voluminous results of excavation in other years must be for the present our major concern in this part of our work, and there is still much to be done. We are fortunate in having our library and equipment at Baghdad under the competent care of the Antiquities Department of Iraq. During the year a substantial sum was realized from the sale of some of our field equipment.

The war has not thus far seriously affected our publications. Sales and subscriptions hold up remarkably well, including even subscriptions from other lands. The publication of the *Annual* has fallen somewhat behind schedule, but the double volume XXI-XXII is in press and will soon appear. The *BULLETIN* and the *Biblical Archaeologist* continue to render efficiently their distinctive services. Two or three special projects in publication are under way.

Our financial position, as shown by the Treasurer's Report, is quite satisfactory under the circumstances. While a few institutions are finding it hard to maintain their membership in our corporation, and the difficult situation into which higher education in general has been brought by the present emergency gives us considerable cause for misgiving about the future, our membership dues have been coming in thus far with gratifying regularity. This year we have also begun to receive the full income from the Nies Estate, the settlement of which was reported a year ago. Unfortunately the income is not yet sufficient to cover the cost of securing it.

Thoroughly aware how remote our work is from the immediate demands of the war-effort, yet as profoundly convinced as ever of its value for the cultural and spiritual life of mankind, we are grateful for

the possibility of keeping it at as high a level as has been maintained this year.

Respectfully submitted,

MILLAR BURROWS,
President.

New Haven,
December 2, 1942.

REPORT OF THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

To the Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, for the annual report of the President and Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research:

Upon my arrival at the School at the end of April, 1942, I found everything in good order. Mrs. Pommerantz had been managing the business affairs of the School in an excellent fashion, and had been keeping the School library and the library of the British School of Archaeology in good order. Few books have arrived during the past year, and the same is true with regard to periodicals. Such new publications as have arrived have been eagerly read by the scholars who still frequent our library.

When I left the School in July, 1940, to return to America, leaving Dr. Fisher in charge, I had not expected to return so soon, and then in order to resume the management of the School until its new Director could come out to Jerusalem. Dr. Fisher's sudden death has left a void in the field of scholarship, which cannot be easily filled. With my return to Jerusalem, the American School of Oriental Research began again, so to speak, officially to function, although up till the end of the academic year in June 1942, there were no resident Fellows from America. Interest in scientific activity in our fields of study is as keen as ever in this part of the world, whenever it is possible to engage in such work. Naturally, the needs and distractions of the war come before everything. The School is able to serve in this latter respect by making available to the public its dormitory facilities. Every room is occupied, and in practically every instance by some official, or member of an official's family, or by army officers.

Living conditions in Palestine are, everything considered, very good, in spite of the fact that so much of the foodstuffs consumed here was formerly imported and must still partly be imported. There are rather severe restrictions on sugar and similar necessities, but there is thus far a sufficiency for all. Comparatively speaking, Palestine is very well off indeed, and is in a much better position than one might imagine from afar. I am certain that on the whole we eat better in Palestine than in most countries so near the war zone. Prices have risen considerably, but the government has taken steps to check their rise, and for many essential commodities has introduced a strict rationing system, which will probably become more widespread as the war continues.

The population of Palestine is of good heart. Dangers have loomed and at times an invasion has seemed imminent, but at the moment of

writing all immediate threat to the Holy Land from conquest by the barbarians seems to have been averted. It is a pleasure to reside in a Palestine that since the outbreak of the war has been free of the tragic disturbances that gave it no peace during the immediately preceding years.

The School buildings and grounds are in excellent condition. Mrs. Pommerantz has given much attention to the development of the garden and to the raising of an increased amount of vegetables. Our small orchard produced fairly plentifully this summer, and ought next year to give a good yield. Repairs have been carried out in the buildings whenever necessary. A reserve supply of water is constantly maintained in our cisterns. The School owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Albright for, among other things, seeing to it that two large cisterns were dug when the buildings were erected.

It has been possible since my return to continue energetically the School's archaeological explorations of Transjordan, this year with the cooperation of the Smithsonian Institution. The joint Schools-Smithsonian expedition has now reached the northern boundary of Transjordan in places, which means that the goal of the complete archaeological exploration of Transjordan is in sight. We continue this work of peace in times of war, with the prayer that those who race towards the horizons of tomorrow will yet find time to pause and read understandingly from the record of the past.

For faithful labor cheerfully performed under sometimes trying circumstances, the School owes a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Pommerantz, and to the entire servant staff, headed by Shukri Odeh. The government authorities of Palestine and Transjordan have, as ever, been extraordinarily helpful to the School. The British Resident of Transjordan, Mr. A. S. Kirkbride, the Officer Commanding the Arab Legion, Lt. Col. J. B. Glubb, and Mr. Lankester Harding, Chief Curator of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, have been especially helpful. Without the unending aid accorded the School by Mr. Harding, in particular, our work in Transjordan could not be accomplished. His continuous and delightful hospitality whenever I have stayed in Amman, the possibility of discussing with this keen archaeologist the results of the survey, his sending of a member of the Antiquities Department, Rashid Hamid, with me on the various trips, make us greatly and gratefully indebted to him. Above all, I am thankful to the people of Transjordan, high and low, rich and poor, whose unflinching kindness and eager hospitality have made it possible to undertake and continue the School's work in their country.

NELSON GLUECK,

Field Director, American Schools of Oriental Research.

Jerusalem, Sept. 11, 1942.

LIST OF GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY IN JERUSALEM
July 1st 1941-June 30th 1942

AUTHOR	TITLE	PRESENTED BY
American Jewish Historical Soc.	<i>Publications</i> , No. 35	AJHS
Adler, Cyrus	<i>I Have Considered the Days</i>	Author
Albright, W. F.	<i>An Indexed Bibliography of the Writings of</i> <i>From the Stone Age to Christianity</i>	ASOR
Burrows, M.	<i>What Mean these Stones?</i>	ASOR
Dunand, M.	"Spatule de Bronze," Pamphlet	Author
	"Stèle Araméene," Pamphlet	Author
Fitzgerald, G. M.	<i>A 6th cent. Monastery at Beth Shan</i>	Univ. Museum, Philadelphia
Glueck, N.	<i>The Other Side of the Jordan</i>	ASOR
Hebrew Union College	<i>Annual</i> , Vol. XIV	HUC
Moore, E. W.	<i>Neo-Babylonian Documents in the Univ. of</i> <i>Michigan Collection</i>	Univ. of Michigan
Saller, S. O. F. M.	<i>The Memorial of Moses on Mt. Nebo</i> , 2 vols	Author
Smithsonian Inst.	<i>Annual Report 1938</i>	Smithson. Inst.
Van Ingen, W.	<i>Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris</i>	Univ. of Michigan
Youtie, H. C. and Pearl, O.	<i>Tax Rolls from Karanis, Part II</i>	Univ. of Michigan
<i>List of Exchanges</i>		
Ecohard, M. and LeCoeur, C.	<i>Les Bains de Damas, I</i>	Institut Français de Damas

ANNUAL FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF
ORIENTAL RESEARCH ¹

CONDENSED CASH STATEMENT FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1942

Income Received.

Contributions for:		
Maintenance	\$1,262.54	
Special Purposes	6,004.26	
		\$7,266.80
Corporation Dues		5,300.00
Sale of Books		1,000.00
Sale of Excavation Equipment		1,413.22
Appropriated from Reserve		5,021.01
Income from Investments:		
General Endowment	\$13,532.80	
Jastrow Memorial	52.78	
James B. Nies Fund	2,910.58	
John P. Peters Memorial	19.73	
Schofield Fund	25.00	
		16,540.89
		\$36,541.92

¹ The proof of this report has been checked by our auditors, Wheeler, Crosbie & Co., Lincoln-Liberty Bldg., Philadelphia.

Expenses.

Administration Expenses:

Salaries	\$5,344.00	
Assistant Treasurer's Fee	1,199.98	
Audit Fee	50.00	
Special Grant	850.00	
Legal Cost Re Estate	5,021.01	
General Expenses	8.28	
		\$12,473.27

The Annual (650 copies Volume 20)

1,551.13

THE BULLETIN	{ <table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td>1400 copies 83</td> <td rowspan="4">}</td> <td rowspan="4">.....</td> <td rowspan="4">859.69</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1300 " 84</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1400 " 85</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1400 " 86</td> </tr> </table>	1400 copies 83	}	859.69	1300 " 84	1400 " 85	1400 " 86
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Publication Account:

Printing Burrows Volume "What Mean These Stones"	2,025.60	
Salary Professor of Archaeology	225.00	
Jerusalem School Maintenance	5,024.24	
Excavation at Tell-el-Kheleifeh Account	293.41	
		\$22,452.34

Increase in General Corporate Account for the year 1941-1942

\$14,089.58

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AS OF JUNE 30, 1942

Assets.

Cash—Subject to Check	\$25,733.57	
Awaiting Investment	1,954.98	
Held in Reserve	22,478.99	
		\$50,167.54
Advance to Summer Institute		500.00
Investments		346,328.04
Furnishings and Equipment (Jerusalem)		4,601.46
Buildings (Including Tablets)		69,432.00
Real Estate in Jerusalem		27,181.93
		\$498,210.97

Liabilities.

Principal of Endowment Funds:

General Endowment	\$318,762.36	
Jastrow Memorial	1,279.77	
Helen W. Moulton Memorial	3,067.34	
John P. Peters Memorial	533.16	
Edward Robinson Fund	18,722.05	
Schofield Fund	500.75	
Anne E. Stodder Fund	3,500.00	
James B. Nies Estate	1,917.59	
		\$348,283.02

Principal of Nies Legacy for Building

52,666.63

Reserve for Future Expenditures

22,478.99

General Corporate Account (Net Worth over Endowment)

74,782.33

\$498,210.97

THE OLDEST LITERARY CATALOGUE

A SUMERIAN LIST OF LITERARY COMPOSITIONS COMPILED
ABOUT 2000 B. C.

SAMUEL N. KRAMER

Sumerian literature consists of epics and myths, hymns and lamentations, proverbs and "wisdom" compositions. The extant epic tales of Sumer deal largely with the feats and exploits of the heroes Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh, and with those of the god Ninurta and of the goddess Inanna. Of the extant Sumerian myths, several deal with the organization of the universe and the establishment of civilization, and involve the creation of numerous cultural deities as well as the creation of man. Other myths are concerned with the Nether World and with such varied subjects as the journeys of Enki and Sin to Nippur to obtain from Enlil blessings for their city; the marriage of the god Martu to the daughter of Numushda of Kazallu; several "Tammuz" myths whose basic significance still eludes us.

Sumerian hymns may be divided into two classes, *royal* and *divine*. To judge from the available material, the majority of the *divine* hymns are those addressed to the gods Enlil, Enki, Sin, Utu and Ninurta, and to the goddesses Inanna and Bau. But occasional hymns are addressed to other male deities such as An, Ishkur, Martu, Nusku, and the underworld deities Nergal, Ninazu and Ningishzida, as well as to such female deities as Ninmah, Nanshe, Nidaba, Ninmar and Ninkasi. Perhaps to be included among the *divine* hymns are the "temple" hymns; two such compositions are now available. One is concerned with Ninġursag's temple at Kesh. The other is a collection of temple hymns: a long composition of more than 450 lines consisting of 41 brief hymns varying in length from 7 to 23 lines dedicated to all the more important temples and shrines of Sumer and Accad. As for the *royal* hymns, a large part of the extant material is devoted to Shulgi; already large portions of at least four different Shulgi hymns can be restored. Ur-Nammu, Shu-Sin and Ibi-Sin, all of the Third Dynasty of Ur, are also represented. The remaining royal hymns are primarily those of the Isin Dynasty; represented are largely Ishbi-Irra, Shu-ilishu, Idin-Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, Libit-Ishtar, and Ur-Ninurta.*

Turning to the lamentations, one large composition lamenting the destruction of Ur has already been almost completely restored and published (*Assyriological Studies No. 12* of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago) and another, dealing with the destruction of Nippur and its restoration, is in the process of being reconstructed. In addition it is now possible to reconstruct large parts of a lamentation over the destruction of Sumer and Accad, and of one that may at present be best described as belonging to the type of "the weeping mother"; also part of a second lamentation over the destruction of Ur. Finally

* [According to my chronology (see below in this number) Ur-Ninurta reigned 1864-1837 B. C.—W. F. A.]

we now have the greater part of a composition which laments a calamity that befell the city of Agade during the reign of Naram-Sin.

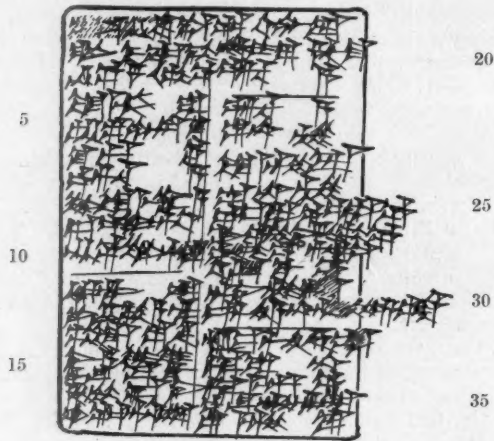
As for Sumerian "wisdom" literature—it is not uninteresting to note that until very recently, except for some proverb material, practically nothing was known or understood of this branch of Sumerian literary activity—it is now seen to have consisted of at least the following types of compositions: — 1. *Collections of proverbs*: in the University Museum there are still about sixty unpublished proverb pieces (the great majority are small fragments but some are well preserved tablets already copied by me) which, together with the material already published, will furnish a fairly representative cross-section of Sumerian proverb literature. 2. *Collections of wisdom paragraphs* of various lengths. 3. *Fables*, such as "The Bird and the Fish," "The Tree and the Reed," "The Pickax and the Plow," "Silver and Bronze." 4. *Didactic* compositions of considerable length among which are several *edubba* or "tablet-house" types which elaborate in one form or another upon the advantages of learning the scribal art.

To sum up, then, we are now in a position to reconstruct a large part of the texts of a group of Sumerian literary compositions whose contents furnish an excellent cross-section of Sumerian literature as created and developed in the last half of the third and the very beginning of the second millennium B. C. The source material consists largely of approximately 3000 Sumerian tablets and fragments inscribed in the early post-Sumerian period. More than 2000 of these were excavated by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur at the close of the last century; except for a small number that have found their way to the University of Jena, these are now located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul and in the University Museum at Philadelphia. To date only about one quarter of this Nippur literary material has been published; it is this unfortunate fact which is largely responsible for the past failure of cuneiform scholars to apprehend adequately the nature of the contents of Sumerian literature. And it is the utilization by the writer of much of this unpublished material in Istanbul and Philadelphia which is making possible the gradual restoration of the Sumerian literary compositions described in the preceding paragraphs.

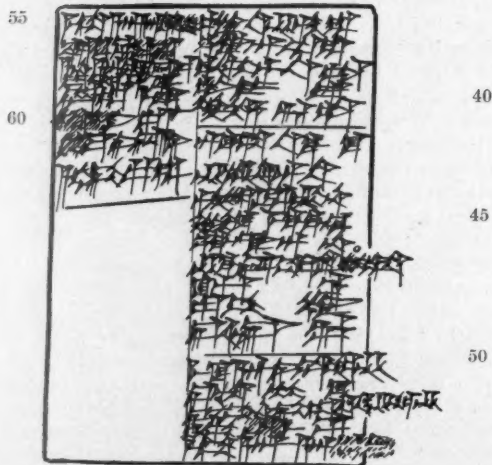
Let us examine for a moment the problem of dating. The tablets themselves, to judge from the script as well as from internal evidence, were inscribed in the early post-Sumerian period, that is, the period following immediately upon the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Just as a rough point of reference, therefore, the actual *writing* of the tablets may be dated approximately 2000 B. C. As for the *composition* of their contents, to judge from the large group devoted to the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, much of it actually took place in that "Neo-Sumerian" period dating approximately from 2150-2050 B. C.^b Moreover, an analysis of the contents of the hymns inscribed on the Gudea Cylinders which date from approximately 2250 B. C., and of the myth inscribed on an archaic cylinder from Nippur (published by George A. Barton in his *Miscel-*

^b [These dates must probably be reduced by about 70 years, according to the evidence of the Khorsabad List, on which see below.—W. F. A.]

CBS 29. 15. 155



Obverse



Reverse

Fig. 1. Autograph Copy of "Catalogue of Literary Texts"

aneous Babylonian Inscriptions (No. 1), which to judge from the script dates considerably earlier than the Gudea Cylinders, clearly indicates that not a little Sumerian literary material had been composed and inscribed several centuries earlier. Finally an analysis of the religious concepts as revealed in the building and dedicatory inscriptions of the *classical* Sumerian period, roughly 2600-2400 B. C., leads to the very same conclusion. In short we are amply justified in concluding that although almost all our available Sumerian literary tablets actually date

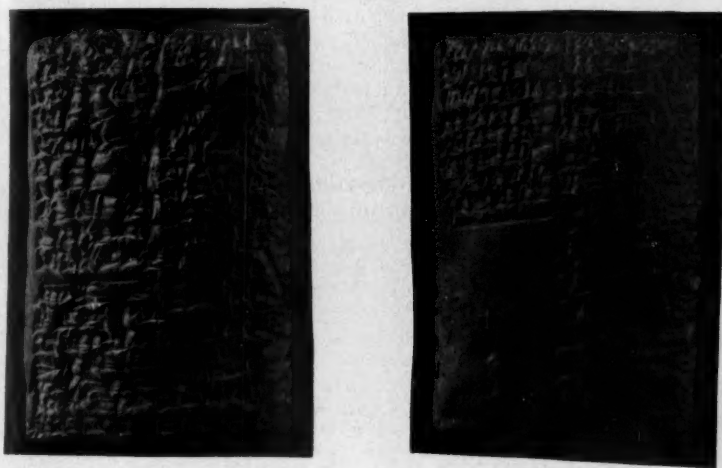


Fig. 2. Obverse and reverse of "Catalogue of Literary Texts"

from approximately 2000 B. C., a large part of the written literature of the Sumerians was created and developed in the latter half of the third millennium B. C.

Be that as it may, the fact is that by approximately 2000 B. C., a large number of Sumerian literary compositions of *all types* were current in the temple schools of Sumer; these were inscribed on tablets of different sizes and shapes which had to be handled, stored, and cared for. *A priori*, therefore, it seemed reasonable to expect that at least some of the scribes in charge of the tablets in the temple or royal "tablet house," would find it convenient to note and list the titles of this or that group of literary compositions for purposes of reference and filing; that is, they would catalogue by title one or another group of compositions for any of the numerous practical needs involved in the process of storing the tablets, if for no more abstract reasons. It is the contents of just such a literary catalogue recently identified by me among the unpublished Nippur literary tablets in the University Museum that I have the pleasure of publishing and analyzing in this study.

The tablet, bearing the museum number 29. 15. 155, is in almost perfect condition; it is quite small, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width. Small as it is, the scribe, by dividing each side into two columns and by using a minute script, succeeded in cataloguing the titles of 62 literary compositions. The first 40 titles he divided into groups of 10 by ruling a dividing line between Nos. 10 and 11, 20 and 21, 30 and 31, 40 and 41. The remaining 22 titles he divided into two groups, the first consisting of 9 and the second of 13 titles. And what is most interesting, at least 21 of the titles which this ancient scribe of approximately 2000 B. C. listed in his catalogue, are of compositions whose texts we now actually have in large part as written down by himself and his colleagues. Needless to say we may have large portions of the texts of a good many more compositions whose titles are listed in this catalogue. But since the title of a Sumerian composition consisted of all or part of the first line of the composition, there is no way of knowing the titles of numerous compositions whose texts we have in large part but whose first lines are broken away.

Following is a line by line transliteration of our catalogue; a descriptive English title follows the Sumerian titles of those compositions which we are in a position to identify:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>lugal-me-en šà-ta</i> (Sulgi hymn) ¹ | 4. <i>nin-me-šár-ra</i> (Hymn to Inanna) ⁴ |
| 2. <i>lugal-mí-dug-ga</i> (Libit-Ištar hymn) ² | 5. <i>en-líl-sù-du-šè</i> (Enlil hymn?) ⁵ |
| 3. <i>en-e nig-du-e</i> (Myth: "Creation of the Pickax") ³ | 6. <i>éš-nun-e</i> (Hymn to the temple of Ninġursag in Keš) ⁶ |

¹ Entire first line reads: *lugal-me-en šà-ta ur-sag-me-en*, "King am I; from the womb a hero am I." The composition is a self-laudatory Šulgi hymn consisting of 102 lines which can be restored almost completely from 11 duplicates; cf. JAOS 54: 415 where *Kish* 70, 77 are to be added. The poem begins with a list of Šulgi's epithets and concludes with what seems to be his description of a journey to Nippur in the midst of a severe storm and flood, a journey undertaken to spread his name and fame over Sumer and "all the lands."

² Entire first line reads: *lugal-mí-dug-ga šà-ta numun-zi-me-en*, "A venerated king, from the womb an enduring seed am I." The composition is a self-laudatory Libit-Ištar hymn consisting of 106 lines which are almost completely restorable; cf. JAOS 54: 415 where the duplicates BIN, Nos. 24-5 and PBS XII, No. 35 are to be added. (Note that the signs *NU*, *IM*, *MU* in the first line of the last named text are a miscopy for *numun-zi*; in the first line of TRS 48, too, some miscopy is involved between the signs *NUMUN* and *ME*.)

³ Entire line reads: *en-e nig-du-e pa na-an-ga-àm-mi-in-è*, "The Lord, that which is appropriate verily he caused to appear" (for the reading *pa* of the sign *PA* in the compound *Pa-è*, cf. Falkenstein, ZA 45: 174, note 2). Cf. for this composition SL (Kramer, *Sumerian Literature*, in PAPS 85: 293-323) 322, No. 9 and JAOS 60: 239, note 15.

⁴ Entire line reads: *nin-me-šár-ra u-dalla-è-a*, "Queen of all the divine decrees, bright-shining light." Cf. for this composition JAOS 60: 249, note 48; our catalogue in rendering the title follows the text of PBS X, 4, No. 3 and not that of *ibid.* No. 4.

⁵ Of this composition we have as yet only a small fragment, SEM 116, which happens to have the beginning of its first line preserved (note that it inserts *a* between *-du-* and *-šè*); to judge from the few extant lines the composition may be a hymn to Enlil.

⁶ Entire line reads: *éš-nun-e éš-nun-e é-ta nam-ta-è*, "The *éšnun*, the *éšnun* (epithet of Enlil) has brought forth (kingship) from the house (the Ekur)." This composition consisting of 150 lines is now practically complete; cf. SEM 7 and

7. *u₁-ri-a* (Epic tale: "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World"?)⁷
8. *in-nin-me-ħuš-a* (Epic tale: "Inanna and Entiki")⁸
9. *é-u₁-ħuš-an-ki*
10. *en-e kur-lú-ti-la-šè* (Epic tale: "Gilgameš and Ĥuwawa")⁹
11. *šul-mè-ka*
12. *lú-kin-gi₁-a-ag* (Epic tale: "Gilgameš and Agga")¹⁰
13. *gud-dam-si-sá*¹¹
14. *NI-a-lum-lum*
15. *bur-šu-ma-gal*
16. *ħa-mu-é-ni*
17. *ħur-sag-an-ki-bi-da* (Myth: Laħar and Ašnan)¹²
18. *sag-ki-gid-da* (Agade lament)¹³
19. *edin-i-lu-NÍG-ù*
20. *u₁-ri-a*
21. *u₁-ri-a*
22. *uru na-nam*^{13a}
23. *nin-me-zi-da*
24. *uru na-nam*
25. *e-gi^{is}al-e-gi^{is}al-e*
26. *lugal-e mu-ni nig-du₇e*
27. *u₁-UL-ri-ta*¹⁴
28. *ki-š-gal-e*
29. *an-ni nam-nir-gál*
30. *giš-gi a-na . . . un-dé*^{14a}
31. *u₂-giš-gi-kug-ta*
32. *túr-ra-na* (Lamentation over the destruction of Ur)¹⁵
33. *túr-me-nun-e* (Lamentation over the destructions of Nippur)¹⁶

JAOS 54: 417 for details. The University Museum still has approximately 10 unpublished fragments of this composition. Note that there were at least two other compositions beginning with the complex *éš-nun-e*; cf. line 47 of the University Museum tablet and lines 36-7 of the Louvre tablet, to one of which the former probably corresponds.

⁷ This is probably the first complex of the epic tale "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World"; for details cf. SL 321, No. 6 and JAOS 60: 246, note 40. Note that there were at least two other compositions beginning with *u₁-ri-a*; cf. lines 20-1.

⁸ For details cf. SL 321, No. 9; the texts involved are PBS X, 4, No. 9; STVC 42, 90; SEM 103, 106-7, 109; PBS XII, 47; 4 unpublished fragments in the Museum of the Ancient Orient and 2 in the University Museum.

⁹ Entire line reads: *en-e kur-lú-ti-la-šè gēštug-ga-ni na-an-gub*, "The lord (Gilgameš) towards the mountain of the ever-living man set his mind"; for details cf. SL 321, No. 5 and JAOS 60: 245, note 36.

¹⁰ Entire line reads: *lú-kin-gi₁-a-ag-ga-dumu-en-me-bara-gi₁-e-si*, "The messengers of Agga, the son of Enmebaragesi (arrived at Erech before Gilgameš)." For details cf. SL 321, No. 4; the text is based on the four published pieces, PBS X, 2, No. 5; SRT 38; SEM 29; BJRL 19: 369-72; and two unpublished bits. The scribe breaks off his title in the middle of the word *ag-ga*.

¹¹ Perhaps this is the title of the composition to which the "Guddam" epic fragment HGT, No. 26 belongs.

¹² The entire first complex reads *ħur-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ke₁*, (cf. line 11 of the Louvre tablet); the scribe breaks off in the middle of the complex. For the contents of this composition cf. SL 322, No. 5 and especially SRT 25-32 and SEM 4; in addition to the published material there listed, 7 unpublished fragments are now available, 3 from Istanbul and 4 from Philadelphia.

¹³ Entire line reads: *sag-ki-gid-da-en-líl-lá ke₁*, "Because of the wrath of Enlil"; for details cf. JAOS 60: 235, note 4.

^{13a} Note that there were at least two compositions beginning with *uru na-nam*; cf. line 24.

¹⁴ Note the erasure between the signs *UL* and *RI*.

^{14a} This line corresponds to line 54 of the Louvre tablet; however, to judge from the traces, there may be some divergence of reading in the broken parts of the line.

¹⁵ For a practically complete reconstruction of this text together with a translation and commentary, cf. AS, No. 12 of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

¹⁶ Entire line reads: *túr-me-nun-e* (variant *-na*, cf. line 28 of Louvre tablet) *-la-dú-a-bi*, "Its (Nippur's) stable built by princely decree." The first portion of

34. *u₁-šu-bala ag-dè* (Sumer lament)¹⁷
35. *uru-me-zi-da*
36. *u₁-huš-ki-en-gi-ra*
37. *u₁-huš-an-ur-ra*
38. *u₁-UL-an-ki-ta*
39. *lugal-bàn-da* (Epictale: "Lugal-banda and Enmerkar")¹⁸
40. *sig₁-kur-šuba-ta*
41. *an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè₇* (Myth: "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World")¹⁹
42. *en-mah-di-an-ki*
43. *éⁿⁱ-bar-ra gurun-na*²⁰
44. *in-nin-me-gal-gal-la*
45. *u₁-gal-ug-an-na* (Hymn to Inanna)^{20a}
46. *en-gal-men-gúr-ru-mu-ta*
47. *és-nin-e*
48. *uru-gud-huš*
49. *é-u₆-nir* (Collection of temple hymns)²¹
50. *me-šè-am i-du-dè-en* ("Edubba" composition)²²
51. *gá-nu ki-mu-šè*
52. *gá-nu ga(?) -na ga-ab-di-di-en-dè-en*
53. *u₄-UL-engur-ra(?)* (Instructions of a farmer to his son)²³
54. *me-ta-àm àm- . . .*
55. *me-ta-àm àm-di-di-?*
56. *eme(?) -KU(?) -e . . .*
57. *a-na-àm á-ág-gá*
58. *i-bi-u₁-da*
59. *egir-dub-me-ka*
60. *én(?) -tar(?) -lú-líl-lá*
61. *dím-ma-ni uš-a-ni*
62. *a-dùg-ga-gur-ra*

After recognizing and deciphering the contents of the Nippur catalogue in the University Museum I decided to look through all the published

this composition consists of a lament over the destruction of Nippur while its latter half eulogizes the delivery of the city and its restoration by Išme-Dagan; cf. STVC 5. The published texts are PBS X, 4, No. 1; SRT 40, 50; STVC, Nos. 66-8; TRS, No. 15; two additional pieces have been copied by me in Istanbul.

¹⁷ Entire line reads: *u₁ šu-bala ag-dè GIS-HUR ku₆-lam-e-dè*, "To pervert the day, to destroy the (divine) plans." Only a small part of this composition is preserved; it describes the desolation of Sumer after the defeat of Ibi-Sin by the Elamites (cf. JAOS 60: 236, note 8, where SEM should be STVC).

¹⁸ For description of contents, cf. SL 321, No. 2. For a complete list of published texts, cf. SEM 1 (note also the additional duplicates pointed out by Falkenstein in OLZ 40: 224-6—additional fragments are now available, 5 from Philadelphia and 1 from Istanbul).

¹⁹ For a complete reconstruction of the extant text with translation and commentary, cf. SL 296-314. Note the erroneous variant *-ta* for *šè* in line 34 of the Louvre tablet.

²⁰ For the reading of the sign *LI* as *én* in the word *éⁿⁱ-bar*, cf. SL 313, note 11.

^{20a} This Inanna hymn is characterized by a constantly repeated two-line refrain beginning with the words *nin-me-šár-ra* and *nin-é-gal-la*; cf. JAOS 60: 240, note 17 (the number 90 is a misprint and is to be eliminated).

²¹ This is a long composition of more than 450 lines consisting of brief hymns to all the more important temples and shrines of Sumer and Accad; when fully reconstructed and trustworthily translated, its contents will prove to be a major source for the study of Sumerian religion. A detailed analysis of the texts, published and unpublished, which are available for the reconstruction of this composition will appear in the introduction to my volume of Sumerian literary texts from the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul which will appear in the near future.

²² The entire line reads *dumu-é-dub-ba-a u₁-ul-la-àm me-šè i-du-dè-en*; for details cf. JAOS 60: 247, note 43. Note the interesting fact that our scribe has chosen in this one instance the *last* part of the line for his title instead of the *first* part.

²³ Entire line reads: *u₁-UL engur-ra dumu-ni-ir na mu-[na-ri]* " . . . the farmer ins[tructed] his son." This composition consists of 108 lines and is didactic in character; it contains the instructions proffered by a farmer to his son in matters of agriculture. The major part of its text can be restored from OECT, Pls. 32-5; SEM 42; there are 4 unpublished texts, 2 from Istanbul and 2 from Philadelphia.

Sumerian literary material to see if a similar tablet, the nature of its contents unrecognized, had not already been published. Sure enough, in searching through De Genouillac's *Textes Religieux Sumériens* I found that the Louvre tablet AO 5393 (No. 28), described by its copyist as a hymn in honor of Gimil (sic!) -Sin, king of Ur, is actually a catalogue corresponding in large part to our University Museum tablet.²⁴ The Louvre tablet, larger than the Philadelphia piece, is also divided into four columns. What is most unusual, however, is the fact that the number of lines inscribed on the last two columns is considerably less than that inscribed on the first two columns; thus it has 23 lines²⁵ in the first column, 24 lines in the second column, only 7 lines in the third column, and 14 lines in the fourth column. The Louvre tablet therefore catalogues 68 titles while the University Museum tablet catalogues 62 titles. Of the former's 68 titles, 43 are identical with those of the latter, although the order frequently varies. The Louvre tablet, therefore, has 25 titles that are not on the University Museum tablet, while the latter has 19 titles that are not on the Louvre tablet. All in all our two catalogues together list the titles of 87 literary compositions. Moreover, among the 25 titles listed in the Louvre catalogue but omitted from the Nippur catalogue, 7 are of compositions whose texts we now have in large part; thus bringing up the total of identifiable titles to 28.

Following is a line by line transliteration of the Louvre catalogue; the numerals following the titles indicate the corresponding line on the University Museum catalogue:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. [lugal-me-en ša-ta] (1) | 11. hur-sag-an-ki-bi (!) -da (!) - |
| 2. [lugal-mi-dug ₄ -ga] (2) | ke ₄ (!) (17) ^{25a} |
| 3. [en-e nig-du ₇ -e] (3) | 12. sag-ki-gid-da (18) |
| 4. [nin-me-šár-ra] (4) | 13. edin-i-lu-NIG-ù (19) |
| 5. [en-líl-sù-du-š]è (5) | 14. u ₄ -ri-a (!) (20) |
| 6. [éš-nun]-e (6) | 15. u ₃ -ri-a (!) (21) ²⁶ |
| 7. [u ₄ -ri]-a (!) (7) | 16. e-gi ^š al-e-al-e (25) |
| 8. in-nin-me-huš-a (!) (8) | 17. lugal-e mu-ni nig-du ₇ -šè (26) ²⁷ |
| 9. é-u ₄ -huš-an-ki (9) | 18. lugal-u ₄ -me-lám-bi-nir-gál (Epic |
| 10. en-e kur (!) -lú-ti-la-šè (10) | tale, "The Feats and Exploits |
| | of Ninurta" ²⁸) |

²⁴ Indeed to judge from the orthography, the Louvre tablet, whose provenance is unknown since it was acquired from a dealer, may have been written by the same scribe who compiled the Nippur catalogue in the University Museum.

²⁵ De Genouillac gives 21 as the number of lines in the first column. However, since the tablet is broken at the top and since the indications are that the first 10 titles in the Louvre tablet were identical with those in the University Museum piece, it seems more than likely that De Genouillac has misjudged the size of the broken portion of the first column.

^{25a} Cf. note 12.

²⁶ Note the MIN sign at the end of this line (it is missing on the corresponding line in the University Museum tablet); possibly it is intended to indicate explicitly that this is another composition beginning with u₄-ri-a.

²⁷ Note the variant -e for -šè in the University Museum tablet.

²⁸ Cf. SL 321, No. 7 and JAOS 60: 239, note 13; the form *lugal-e* (for *lugal*) which is found in the later versions of this title seems to be a grammatical corruption.

19.-šè (P)
 20. é na-nam
 21. u₁-UL-ri-ta (27)
 22. ki-P-gal-e (28)
 23. u₁-UL-an-ki-ta (38)
 24. [lugal-bàn]-da (39)
 25. [uru-gul]-huš (48)
 26. [sig₁]-kur-šuba-ta (40)
 27. tür-ra-na (32)
 28. tür-me-nun-na (33)
 29. uru-me-zi-da (35)
 30. u₁-šu-bala (!) ag-dè (34)
 31. an-ni nam-nir-gál (29)
 32. é-u₆-nir (49)
 33. en-[maḥ]-di-an-ki (42)
 34. an-gal-ta ki-gal-ta (41)²⁹
 35. in-nin-m[e-g]al-gal-la (44)
 36. éš-nun-e sag na-an-íl-ta (47)^{29a}
 37. éš-nun-e é-kur-ta-è (!?) -a (!)³⁰
 38. šul-me-ka (11)³¹
 39. NI-a (!) -lum-lum (14)³²
 40. nin-me-zi-da (23)
 41. in-nin-šà-dib-ra
 42. en-gal-me-gur-ru-mu-ta (46)³³
 43. en-e an-ki-a
 44. an-gim-dím-ma (Epic tale:
- "The Return of Ninurta to Nippur")³⁴
 45. an-ta-è-a-ra (Hymn to Inanna)³⁵
 46. lú-lu₆ nam-maḥ-dingir-ri-e (Collection of proverbs)³⁶
 47. ...me-a (!) -an-na³⁷
 48. nin-dingir-zu (P) -úr
 49. ḥa-mu-é-ni (!) (16)
 50. u₆-giš-gi-kug-ta (31)
 51. u₁-gal-ug-an-na (45)
 52. u₁-huš-[an]-úr-ra (37)
 53. u₂-[huš-ki]-en-gi-ra (36)
 54. giš-gi a-na ...gù mu-un-dé (30)³⁸
 55. ^dšu-^dzuen-lugal-en-gaba-gal
 56. šul-an-gal³⁹
 57. é-bi-ta
 58. é-an-ni
 59. ^den-líl-dirig-P
 60. [ni]n-me-lám-zu (Hymn to Ninsinna)⁴⁰
 61. ^dnin-líl-nin-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke₄
 62. ^den-líl-lí an-ki-bi-da
 63. é (P) mu-bi-gim (Sulgi composition)⁴¹

²⁹ Cf. note 19.

^{29a} Either this or the following line may correspond to line 47 of the University Museum tablet.

³⁰ Cf. perhaps the first line of STVC 34 and note that in the second line of this text which, except for the introductory words probably repeats verbatim the first line, the sign RA is a miscopy for TA.

³¹ Note the variant -mè- in the University Museum tablet.

³² Between the signs NI and A there is probably an erasure. Note the indentation of the line (if the copy is correct); what purpose does it intend to serve?

³³ Note the variant -men- for -me- in the University Museum tablet.

³⁴ Cf. SL 321, No. 8.

³⁵ Cf. SRT, No. 1 where the first line is probably to be restored to read: [an-ta-è-a-ra an-ta-è-a-ra] silim-ma ga-na-ab-bi-en, "To her who rises above, to her who rises above, let me utter 'peace'"; cf. the second line where the complex nu-u₆-gig probably takes the place of the first an-ta-è-a-ra. For this magnificent hymn noted for its description of the New Year hieros gamos, cf. the references in STVC 5.

³⁶ Cf. in all probability the first line of STVC, No. 1: lú-lu₆ nam-maḥ-dingir-ra-na zi-de-èš-šè ḥé-im-me, "Let man everlastingly utter the exaltation of his god."

³⁷ Instead of the inexplicable indentation of the copy, it is probable that the initial sign (URU?) is destroyed.

³⁸ Cf. note 14a.

³⁹ Cf. perhaps the first line of TRS 34, a composition exalting the achievements of Libit-Istar.

⁴⁰ Cf. first line of SEM 100.

⁴¹ Cf. probably the first line of No. 79 of my forthcoming *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient*. This latter is an incomplete extract of a Šulgi composition the character of whose contents is obscure; the first half seems to describe Šulgi's adoration of his divine brother Gilgames.

64. *lugal-me-én am-á-pàd-da* (Šulgi hymn)⁴²
 65. *u₁-hé-gál-la mu...*
66. *u₁-dùg-AMA-hé-gál-lá-tu-da*
 67. *lugal-sà-tùr-gim*
 68. *nin-mu-mùš-za-gìn-dar-a*
 $\frac{1}{4}$ *na-rú-a*⁴³

If in conclusion we attempt to discover the principle or principles which guided the scribe in the arrangement of his catalogue, we note the following:—In the first place, since the 43 titles which are common to both catalogues differ considerably in the order of their arrangement,⁴⁴ it is obvious that the guiding principles were not identical for the two catalogues. *A priori* one might have expected the nature of the contents to have been the determining criterion; actually this is rarely the case.⁴⁵ And since we are quite ignorant of the practical purposes which the catalogue was intended to serve and can only guess vaguely at the actual factors impelling the scribe to a particular choice,⁴⁶ it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion on this subject.

THE TWO PILLARS BEFORE THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON

HERBERT GORDON MAY

The function and names of the two pillars before the Solomonic temple have been strikingly elucidated by the studies of Albright and Scott.¹ Albright brings pertinent archaeological support to Robertson Smith's suggestion that the pillars were really lofty cressets.² An imposing array of scholars is convinced that these columns were free-standing, not sup-

⁴² Cf. the first line of SRT 14; to this composition belong also STVC 50, 51, 59, and a fragment copied by me in Istanbul. It is a self-laudatory Šulgi hymn characterized by a frequently repeated three-line refrain exhorting the hymn-reciters to utter his name, multiply his prayers, and sing his strength.

⁴³ The meaning of *na-rú-a* which here seems to be a technical scribal term is not clear; perhaps it approximates our word "list."

⁴⁴ The first 10 titles are an exception; their order is probably identical on the two tablets. Of the remaining 33, however, the correspondences are relatively few; thus: Nos. 17-21 of A (University Museum tablet) correspond to 11-15 of B (Louvre tablet); 25-6 of A correspond to 16-7 of B; 32-5 of A, to 27, 28, 30 (sic!), 29 of B; 28-9 of A, to 23-4 of B; 41-2 of A, to 34, 33 (sic!) of B.

⁴⁵ Thus in A, Nos. 32-7 are all lamentations; the first 3, *certainly*, since we have much of their texts; the last 3, *probably*, to judge from their titles. Note that B, too, lists the first 4 of these compositions consecutively, the order varying slightly, thus: 27, 28, 30, 29. It even lists the last 2 consecutively but in reverse order and far removed from the first 4 (53, 52). An excellent example of arrangement according to content is that of the last 13 titles of A which B omits altogether; to judge from their titles, these are all "wisdom" compositions.

⁴⁶ Thus the scribe may have written down the titles as he "packed" the tablets or "unpacked" them from a tablet jar, or as he arranged them on the library shelves; in any case the *size* of the tablet may have been a considerable factor.

¹ W. F. Albright, "Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz," *BULLETIN* No. 85 (1942), pp. 18 ff.; *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), pp. 144 ff.; R. B. Y. Scott, "The Pillars Jachin and Boaz," *JBL*, LVIII (1939), pp. 143 ff.

² W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd. ed., 1927), pp. 487 ff.

porting the roof of the porch.³ Since examples of both detached and attached pillars are archaeologically known, the evidence for this must come largely from the biblical text. Significantly, the pillars are not mentioned among the details of the temple structure in 1 Kings 6, but appear along with the bronze stands, the bronze sea, and the temple paraphernalia.⁴ This may be contrasted with the description of the pillars of the porch of the palace in 1 Kings 7:6 ff.⁵ In 1 Kings 7:21 the pillars are not said to stand upon the porch, but "with reference to" the porch, one to the right and one to the left. In 2 Chr. 3:17 they are set "before" the temple. In any case, the structural value of a hollow pillar, 27 feet high, 12 feet in diameter, and 4 fingers thick is subject to grave doubt. Although somewhat unlikely, it is not entirely impossible that besides these two pillars before the temple there were two other pillars which were portico columns, supporting the roof of the porch.⁶

The archaeological data for free-standing pillars before a temple have been adequately collected by Albright and others. Among the more significant examples are the remains of such columns from Sargon's capital, Dur Sharrukin, modern Khorsabad. The pillars were set off the corners of the entrance of the temples on tableaus or shelves which were faced with glazed brick bearing relief decoration. Before the Sin temple M. Place reported a cylindrical bronze casing, 9 meters long, enclosing a shaft of cedar. Before the temple of Shamash Gordon Loud uncovered $4\frac{1}{2}$ meters of a cedar shaft, with embossed bands 0.70 m. wide. From before the Ningal temple were recovered fragments of embossed bronze bands, probably from its pillars.⁷ At the Nabu temple before the façade of the inner temple there were found remains of both wooden shafts, and in the wood of one were the bronze nails which had fastened the bands.⁸ Despite the obvious differences, we cannot but compare these free-standing columns at the façades of the Khorsabad temples with those of the Solomonic temple. Likewise suggestive is a comparison of the sea of bronze in the Solomonic temple with the statues at the corners of the tableaus of the Khorsabad temples. These sculptured figures, holding the "spouting vase" and with streams depicted on their gar-

³ Albright, Barnes, Barrois, Galling, Gressmann, Landsberger, Lods, Möhlenbrink, Robertson Smith, Thiersch, Watzinger, Wright, etc.

⁴ 1 Kings 7: 13 ff., 40 ff. Cf. 2 Kings 25: 13 ff.; Jer. 52: 17 ff.

⁵ 1 Kings 7: 19 has the capitals "in the porch," but the phrase in the context is without sense. See Benzinger, Kittel, *et. al.* The corruptions in vv. 19 and 20 are extremely confusing.

⁶ These conceivably may be mentioned in 2 Kings 18: 16. Hezekiah stripped the doors of the temple and the columns ('mwt), which he had overlaid with gold. Compare the portico pillars in the Tell Tainât temple: C. W. McEwan, "Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute," *AJA*, XLI (1937), pp. 8 ff. Compare also the "pillars of stone" in the Yahu temple at Syene: Sachau, No. 1, line 9. If we accept the interpretation of 2 Kings 11: 14 in 2 Chr. 23: 13, we might have another allusion to the portico pillars, for the pillar beside which it was customary for the king to stand was "in the entrance" (*bmbw'*). See also 2 Kings 23: 3. Ezekiel 40 ff. omits the pillars before the temple, along with the sea of bronze, etc., but has pillars beside the jambs of the porch entrance (Ez. 40: 49).

⁷ Gordon Loud, *et al.*, *Khorsabad I, OIP*, XXXVIII (1936), pp. 97 ff.; H. Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 10 (1935), pp. 89 ff.

⁸ Gordon Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad II, OIP*, XL (1938), p. 61 and Pl. XXII.

ments,⁹ called attention to the Source of Living Waters, as doubtless also did the sea of bronze. It may be that vessels containing water were supported by the saucer-like hollows in the square blocks resting on the heads of the figures.¹⁰

In a discussion of temple pillars, two incense-stands from Palestine deserve special consideration. The first is the well-known pottery stand found by Sellin at Taanach.¹¹ Upon close examination it suggests a pillar, on the top of which incense is to be burned. The interpretation of this object has been a matter of controversy,¹² but may be facilitated by comparison with the pottery incense-stand from Megiddo, in the form of a miniature building decorated with cherubim in relief and having "Ionic" volutes at the upper corners of the façade.¹³ Obviously, the volutes in the upper corners of the "façade" of the Taanach incense-stand are in intent "Ionic," and not ram's horns.¹⁴ The stand is said to have been found in the ruins of the 9th-to-6th-century city, and is usually dated in the Middle Iron Age.¹⁵ It may, however, be as early as its tenth-century Megiddo (stratum IV?) "parallel." The pottery shown by Sellin from the immediate vicinity may range L. B. to M. I.¹⁶ The incense-stand was found in 36 pieces, and part of the apparent crudity may be due to difficulties of reconstruction. It narrows toward the top, ending in a "bowl" ca. 30 cm. in diameter. The volute is missing from the upper right corner of the "façade." A rough outline of the object suggests a crude pillar with an "Ionic" capital (Fig. 1). The widely separated volutes have an analogy in the pilaster capitals from the Megiddo citadel of stratum IVB (Fig. 2).¹⁷ It may be objected that, since the volutes are only on the "façade," the latter cannot be interpreted as a pillar with capital, but this incongruity may be explained by the material used, the crudity of workmanship, and the suggestive character of the representation.

⁹ Compare the Mari goddess with vase and streams, *Syria*, XVIII (1937), Pl. XIII, and the relief on the font dedicated by Gudea for the temple of Ningirsu: see A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (2nd. ed., 1929), p. 70, Fig. 60. Cf. H. G. May, *JAOS*, LIX (1939), pp. 235 ff.

¹⁰ Gordon Loud suggests they may have been for supporting the golden dishes used in the New Year festival: see *Khorsabad I*, pp. 98 ff., and *Khorsabad II*, pp. 45, 59, and Pls. XLV, XLVII.

¹¹ E. Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* (1904), pp. 77 ff. and Pls. XII, XIII.

¹² See, for instance, M. Lods, "Autel ou réchaud? A propos du 'brûle-parfums' de Taanach," *RHR*, CLX (1934), pp. 129 ff.; K. Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* (1925), p. 71; H. Vincent, *Canaan* (1907), pp. 181 ff., etc.

¹³ See H. G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, *OIP*, XXVI (1935), Pls. XIII ff., and discussion in *AJSL*, LII (1936), pp. 215 ff.

¹⁴ Contrast Sellin, Vincent, Lods, etc.

¹⁵ Sellin, Galling, Gressmann, et. al.

¹⁶ Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 79, Fig. 108. The picture is not as distinct as one might wish, but the majority of the vessels seem to be late E.I. and M.I. types. The "filler spout" jar in the center may be as early as the tenth century (at Megiddo appearing in strata IV-I, and at Beth-shemesh E.I.c-M.I.c: see *OIP*, XLII, Pl. XII, Nos. 61, 62; E. Grant and G. E. Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations*, IV, Pl. LXVII, No. 12). There are M.I. "water-decanter." Two of the vessels described in the text recall 11th century Megiddo, Stratum V: see *OIP*, XLII, Pl. VIII, No. 180. The jug in the upper left recalls still earlier E.I.: see Shipton, *Notes on Megiddo Pottery*, Pl. I, Nos. 4, 5, Stratum VI. Some of the larger jugs may be L.B. or E.I.

¹⁷ *OIP*, XXVI, Pl. XI.



A comparison of this incense-stand from Taanach with the above-mentioned pottery shrine from Megiddo leads to the conclusion that the volutes on the latter are not, as the writer first thought, intended to suggest an "Ionic" capital on each side of the façade. If this were the case, they would perhaps not project beyond the corners of the cornice, and there might be a double volute on each side. Rather, the two volutes give the impression that the cornice of the façade is being supported by an "Ionic" capital. In other words, although the Megiddo stand is in the form of a miniature temple, the cornice, which is the "bowl" of the censer, is supported thus, and there may be in it, as well as in the Taanach incense-stand, some influence of the pillar-crescent conception.¹⁸ The rough outline of the Taanach stand recalls the pillars supporting the winged sun-disc (the sky) in the Anatolian royal "cartouche" (Fig. 3).¹⁹ The lion and cherub reliefs on the sides have frequently been compared with the Zindjirli sculptures.²⁰ We may note the use of sculptured cherubim or lions on pillar bases at Zindjirli, Sakje-Geuzi, and Tell Tainât, and wonder whether we have some crude adaptation here.²¹ At any rate, the outline of the Taanach incense-stand does suggest, albeit crudely, a pillar and "Ionic" capital, above which incense was burned.

More pertinent, and more obvious at first glance, is the incense-stand found by Schumacher at Megiddo, where we may have the best existent archaeological illustration of the form of the Jachin and Boaz pillars (Fig. 4).²² Its material is limestone, and it consists of a bowl or *gullah*,²³ which forms the capital, while beneath on the pillar are two "inverted lilies." The decoration on the bowl, alternating lotus buds and flowers, appears also in the Samaria ivories.²⁴ The object conforms to the biblical description of the temple pillars, that "near the top of the columns was lily work." This has been noted by Albright, who properly compares the similar representations on Phoenician incense-stands.²⁵ The pillar form is obvious also from the 9th-century relief from Ramat Rahel, showing "Ionic" capitals and similar "lilies" at the top of the pillar (Fig. 5).²⁶

¹⁸ The double "Ionic" volute design frequently appears as a support. On a Syrian type cylinder seal it is at the top of a pillar supporting moon and sun discs: see Engberg, in *OIP*, XXVI, p. 40, Fig. 12. On the Sippara stone it rests on the top of the altar, supporting the sun disc, symbol of Shamash.

¹⁹ See H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939), p. 275.

²⁰ See P. D'Orme and L. H. Vincent, "Les Chérubins," *RB* (1926), pp. 491 ff., and Figs. 8, 9; Lods, *RHR*, CIX, p. 144.

²¹ J. Garstang, "Excavations at Sakje-Geuzi," *AAA*, I (1908), Pl. XLII, Figs. 1, 2; McEwan, *op. cit.*, Figs. 6, 7; F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschiri*, II, Pl. XXXIII. For Assyrian parallels, see G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* (1875), p. 431, and E. Babelon, *Manual of Oriental Antiquities* (1889), p. 62, Fig. 44.

²² G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, I (1908), frontispiece. See the discussion by K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1912), pp. 24 ff.

²³ See 1 Ki. 7: 41, 42; 2 Chr. 4: 12, 13. See the discussions of *gullah* by Albright in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 147, and in *BASOR*, No. 85, p. 25, and by K. Möhlenbrink, "Der Leuchter im fünften Nachtgesicht des Propheten Sacharja," *ZDPV*, LII (1929), pp. 257 ff.

²⁴ J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (1938), Pl. XV, Nos. 3a, 4a; 8; Pl. XVI, Nos. 1-7.

²⁵ *BULLETIN*, No. 85, pp. 22 ff., especially Figs. 3-6. See Wigand, *op. cit.*, Pl. II.

²⁶ C. Watzinger, in Walter Otto, *Handbuch der Archäologie* (1939), Pl. CXCVI, Fig. 3.

Further illustrations appear in the Arslan Tash ivories (Fig. 6),²⁷ and also in the Khorsabad collection of ivories (Fig. 7).²⁸ Likewise reminiscent of the "lilies" is the arrangement at the top of the pillar in the detail of the relief on a throne from Tell Tainât (Fig. 8).²⁹ We should compare with the Schumacher incense-stand the bowl-topped stands from the 11th century shrine of Megiddo (stratum V).³⁰ More analogous is the pottery stand from Gezer, with "lilies" at the top of the column.³¹ This Macalister dated to his 4th Semitic Period (1000-550 B. C.), but it is probably late EI, for, as Albright has shown, there was no MI occupation of Gezer.³² Schumacher's censer is probably to be dated in the same period. The excavator associated it with a *maššebôth* structure beneath the Solomonic citadel,³³ with a type of building known elsewhere in stratum V.³⁴ Watzinger would date it later than the *maššebôth* structure, but his Middle Iron date may be too late.³⁵

There can be no doubt but that the bowl top of this Megiddo incense-stand may properly be designated by the Hebrew term *gullah*. Hebrew *gullah* corresponds to Akkadian *gullatu*.³⁶ The Hebrew term means a bowl, or bowl-shaped capital, and is employed in the description of the temple pillars, and in Zech. 4:2, 3 for the bowl on top of the lamp-stand. A letter to Sargon, concerning building materials for Dur Sharrukin, contains the following:

gul-la-a-te . . . šá šap-la dim-me šá bît hi-il-la-na-te and *IV gul-la-te-ka šá II bît hi-il-la-na-ni*.

This is translated by Waterman: "The bases. . . which are beneath the pillars of the vestibules (?)" and "four of your bases of the two vestibules."³⁷ These *gullâte* or "bases" may have been analogous to those

²⁷ A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique* (1939), p. 500, Fig. 196.

²⁸ *Khorsabad II*, Pl. LVI, Nos. 69, 70. Figs. 7 and 9 are reproduced by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

²⁹ McEwan, *op. cit.*, p. 16, Fig. 12. The "lily work" on top of the pillar blends in with the capital, and, artistically, is a part of the capital. Compare the pillars and capitals of the familiar pottery shrine from Idalion: Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Pl. 124. The pillars seem to be on tableaus or shelves, as at Khorsabad.

³⁰ See *ILN*, 1936, June 20, p. 1111, Fig. 15. Note especially the two limestone specimens. We should also compare the pottery incense-stand from Megiddo, Stratum VI, in *OIP*, XXVI, Pl. XX, No. P 6056. These are all E. I., and so doubtless is the Schumacher incense-stand.

³¹ R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, II (1912), p. 337, Fig. 460. This is especially comparable with the above-mentioned stand from Megiddo, P 6056, and this is significant for its date.

³² *AASOR*, XII (1932), pp. 76 ff.

³³ Schumacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.

³⁴ See *OIP*, XLII, pp. 3 ff. See M. Burrows, *What Mean These Stones?* (1941), p. 211.

³⁵ Watzinger, *Tell el-Mutesellim II* (1929), pp. 39 ff., 79 ff. The underlying burnt level doubtless belongs to stratum VI. In other words the censer is probably to be ascribed to stratum V. Contrast Gressmann's 5th century date: *op. cit.*, p. 134.

³⁶ See C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* (1926), *ad. loc.*: "Wulst, Kugel (an e. Säulenkapitell); e. rundes (?) Gefäss (?)."

³⁷ L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, I (1930), pp. 312 ff., letter No. 452. See also P. Jensen, *ZA*, IX, p. 133, text 943. See discussion by Möhlenbrink, *op. cit.*, 257 ff.

Prof. Albright has called the writer's attention to the study of this inscription by

discovered in the Dur Sharrukin excavations, one of which is illustrated in Fig. 9.³⁸ The resemblance to a bowl strikes one at first glance. The bases at Khorsabad were on occasion decorated with "Ionic" or near-"Ionic" relief designs. The biblical *gullah* was a capital, rather than a base, but base and capital frequently took the same form. On the Sippara relief are both "Ionic" base and "Ionic" capital.³⁹ The relief on the Tell Tainât throne shows duplicated at the top of the pillar details found on bases discovered at the site.⁴⁰ Pillars with "Ionic" capitals are pictured on a Khorsabad relief.⁴¹

Galling, following Möhlenbrink's suggestions, has reconstructed the lamp-stand in Zech. 4:1 ff. by drawing upon the Megiddo incense-stand for the details of its bowl or *gullah*, and upon the above-mentioned Gezer incense-stand for details of its base; see Fig. 10.⁴² Despite the hazard in using probable E. I. objects to reconstruct a L. I. lampstand, the reconstruction is consistent with the biblical text.⁴³ Even more justifiable is the use of the Megiddo incense-stand in a reconstruction of the Jachin and Boaz pillars. It may be more than a coincidence that the proportions are approximately the same. According to 1 Kings 7:16, the capitals were five cubits in height. We do not know what the width of the capitals was. To what the four cubits in the corrupt verse 19 refers is uncertain. It may be an approximation of the diameter of the pillars, inserted by a scribe. In any case, the interpretation as a reference to the width of

H. Weidhaas, "Der *Bit Hilani*," *ZA*, N. F. XI (1939), pp. 108 ff. Weidhaas (*op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.) interprets *gullatu* as the designation of the voluted capital or base, such as appear on the Sippara relief. *Gullâte* can, he thinks, most likely refer to the voluted capitals paired with the lion bases which are characteristic of the *bit hilani* and to which reference may be made in this letter, and on occasion (as here), also to voluted bases for the *bit hilani*. More likely is the application of the term to the bowl-shaped capitals or bases. All we can deduce from the Khorsabad excavations is that sometimes these bowl-shaped bases might be decorated with a volute design in relief. The bases themselves are not "Ionic" in form, and contrast with the capitals found at Megiddo or Samaria, which seem to approximate more nearly the type on the Sippara relief. In view of this and in view of the variations in the decoration of the Khorsabad bowl-shaped bases, we cannot safely deduce that the Khorsabad bases were called by the same name as the capital and base on the Sippara relief. Further, whereas we possess from Palestine no incense-stands with the bowl in volute shape or with volute decoration, the numerous bowl-shaped "capitals" illustrated on the Palestinian incense-stands suggest that it was the bowl-shape which elicited the name *gullah*. In Zech. 4 the *gullah* is obviously a container, and certainly any allusion to volutes in Eccl. 12:6; Jos. 15:19, etc., is improbable, but rather the "bowl" concept is primary. The Khorsabad evidence for the lion bases indicates that a bowl-shaped base, sometimes decorated in relief, might rest on the backs of the lions: see note 21, and Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, I (1884), p. 215, Fig. 83, p. 216, Fig. 85. See also the Ashurbanipal palace relief in the British Museum, *ibid.*, p. 216, Fig. 86, or Weidhaas, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Fig. 2. The popularity of the bowl-shaped bases also is evidenced on the Khorsabad relief: *Khorsabad I*, pp. 77, Fig. 89.]

³⁸ *Khorsabad II*, Pl. 32B and Pl. 48, Nos. 15-17, etc. [cf. note 37].

³⁹ H. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXXIX, No. 322.

⁴⁰ McEwan, *op. cit.*, Fig. 12.

⁴¹ *Khorsabad I*, p. 77, Fig. 89.

⁴² Möhlenbrink, *op. cit.*, p. 274; K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon* (1937), p. 348, fig. 10. For the position of the lamps, see Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine* (1902), Pl. 66, Nos. 8, 11, and p. 131.

⁴³ See Albright, *Annual*, XVII (1938), p. 4.

the capitals is not justified by the context. The Chronicler omits it, although careful to indicate the height of the capitals.⁴⁴ Albright has suggested that the circumference of twelve cubits for the pillars may be the result of a scribal error, the original text having read but two.⁴⁵ While this is possible, it would give us a capital seven and one-half feet high and of uncertain width on a slender hollow pillar only one foot in diameter. By contrast, while there is no known analogy for such huge pillars as those presumed by our present biblical text, the proportions are consistent with the Schumacher incense-stand, and an explanation of the unusual size is at hand. It may be that Solomon reckoned these oversized columns commensurate with the pride and glory of an empire to whom the copper mines of the Arabah were available. In this manner also may be explained the oversized sea of bronze, which would have weighed between 25-30 tons.⁴⁶

An understanding of the bronze network or grating (*šbkh*) which "covered" the capitals is obscured by corruptions in 1 Kings 7:17, possibly due to some well-meaning scribe who only added confusion in a vain attempt to clarify the text. This network or grating may have covered the top of the *gullah*—capital or the outside of the bowl. We are not told how it was attached, and verses 18 and 20, referring to the pomegranates, are also obscure. As a possibility, we might conjecture that there were "windows" or openings in the bowl, such as appear in a cup-shaped censer from Ezion-geber.⁴⁷ They might be necessary for draft, if the bowl were hollow and so about seven feet deep. Then perhaps the netting or grating covering the outside of the bowl would cover the openings. It may be no coincidence that *šbkh* is used in 1 Kings 1:2 for a window lattice.⁴⁸ However, the problem of the *šbkh* seems at present insoluble. Another feature of the capital is also obscure. In 1 Kings 7:19 we are told that the capitals were of lily work. Perhaps we are to understand that the exterior of the *gullah* was decorated with a lily chain relief: compare the decoration of the bowl in Fig. 4. Or there may have been an "inverted lily" relief decoration around the *gullah*, as on the bowl of an incense-stand from Taanach, and also on the bowl of an incense-stand from Megiddo, where there are "inverted lilies" both at the top of the column and on the *gullah*.⁴⁹ However, 1 Kings 7:19a is difficult, and there is the possibility that it is a gloss on verse 22, where we are told that on top of the pillars was lily work.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ 2 Chr. 3:15; 5 cubits, although the height of the pillars is given as 35, instead of 18. 2 Kings 25:17 has a corrupt text, reckoning the capitals 3 cubits high, but Jer. 52:22 has the correct 5 cubits.

⁴⁵ 1 Kings 7:15. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 147.

⁴⁶ See G. E. Wright, "Solomon's Temple Reconstructed," *Bib. Arch.* (1941), p. 24.

⁴⁷ BULLETIN, No. 79 (1940), p. 17, Fig. 10. Although the reconstruction is uncertain, see Shipton, *op. cit.*, chart, Stratum VI, no. 20.

⁴⁸ Compare also Arabic *šubbāk*, which has the same meaning.

⁴⁹ Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, fig. 81; *OIP*, XXVI, Pl. XX.

⁵⁰ In 7:41 *gl̄t h̄krt̄* is probably best translated "bowl-shaped capitals." While some renderings of 7:20 might support a translation which might indicate that the *gullah* was separate from the capital, perhaps resting upon it, 7:20 is itself very obscure. While 2 Chr. 4:12 has *wh̄gl̄wt̄ wh̄ktr̄wt̄*, it is probably a corruption of *gl̄wt̄ h̄ktr̄wt̄*, as actually appears in the following verse.

The significance of the pillars to the Hebrews must remain conjectural. As also in interpreting the sea of bronze, we are on more safe ground if we assume that they played a multiple rôle in the "myth" of the Hebrews, and that any one explanation would be inadequate. That in part they were interpreted in terms of the tree of life is not made impossible by their use as cressets: pillar and tree tended to mingle in conception in Near Eastern religion and art. The Egyptian *djed* column is an obvious example, and many illustrations are at hand in Mesopotamian glyptic art. The Khorsabad columns were cedar "trees." The two pillars were the only "trees" at the Solomonic sanctuary, and at least we do know that the sacred tree was a common accompaniment of the local sanctuaries.⁵¹ That these pillars were also interpreted as cosmic columns, prototypes of the pillars between which the sun rose in the east, is likewise within the realm of probability.⁵² At the same time, to follow another suggestion of Albright, they may have been interpreted historically, to commemorate the pillars of cloud and fire in the wilderness of wandering. The position of the pillar of cloud before the tabernacle in such passages as Ex. 33: 9; Num. 12: 5; Deut. 31: 15, etc. is suggestive. We recall the report of Herodotus that at the temple at Tyre there were two pillars, one gold and the other emerald, the latter "shining in the night."⁵³

Our study may throw some light on a detail of the horned altars of incense. The horizontal ledges or projections on the incense-stands have been compared with those on the *djed* pillar of Egypt.⁵⁴ We should also compare with these projections the moulding (*zr*) on the horned altars of incense, appearing in Ex. 30: 3, and illustrated in many known archaeological specimens.⁵⁵ The comparison is all the more striking when we appreciate the fact that the horns of these altars served to hold in position the bowl of incense.⁵⁶ When the horned altars of incense are thus visualized with the bowl of incense upon them, the structural correspondence to some of the pottery incense-stands is obvious, despite the differences. It may at least explain the origin of the moulding (*zr*) on the horned altars of incense.

⁵¹ Cf. H. G. May, *JAOS*, LIX, pp. 255 ff. It may be noted that the "trees" or pillars before the Nabu temple were reconstructed with a disc at the top, to be interpreted possibly as a golden dish set on top of the trunk, in the light of an Assyrian text. See *Khorsabad II*, p. 45 and Pl. XLIV. See the discussion of tree and pillar by Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 204 ff., 276 ff.

⁵² See the discussion of the significance of the pillars by Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 148, 216.

⁵³ Book II, 44—*λάμπωντος τὰς νύκτας*.

⁵⁴ Albright, *BULLETIN*, No. 85, pp. 25 ff. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 206, compares the "trees" before the Khorsabad temples with the *djed* pillar.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, *OIP*, XXVI, Pl. XII.

⁵⁶ See *JPOS*, IX (1929), p. 52; *OIP*, XXVI, p. 12.

A THIRD REVISION OF THE EARLY CHRONOLOGY OF
WESTERN ASIA

W. F. ALBRIGHT

It is now some sixty years since early Babylonian chronology was first *apparently* stabilized by the discovery of cuneiform chronological tablets and long-range datings. In 1880 the Babylonian King-list B was published, followed four years later by a much more extensive document, King-list A. In 1882 Nabonidus's date for Narâm-Sin of Accad, 3200 years before his own time, became known; two years later the cylinder containing this date was published. These sensational finds were rapidly followed by de Sarzec's recovery of archaic Sumerian sculpture and documents from pre-Sargonic Lagash, and in the late nineties by Hilprecht's announcement of even earlier dates for monuments found at Nippur, so it is not at all surprising that Assyriologists were completely carried away. Hilprecht saw no difficulty in dating an early king of Erech named Enshakushanna¹ about 6500 B. C.—we know now that he may be approximately dated somewhere in the 25th century B. C. For decades Sargon of Accad was dated by most serious scholars cir. 3800 B. C., and this date became the corner-stone of Sumerian chronology. The eight dynasties of King-list A were taken to be successive, and their details were considered as reliable, though short gaps toward the end of the list had to be filled by conjecture. Hammurabi, the greatest king of Babylon before Nebuchadnezzar II, was accordingly dated in the 24th century B. C. (Rogers [1900]: cir. 2342-2288), and the First Dynasty was supposed to be followed by a yawning void of seven centuries, from which only one contemporary record had survived.

As time went on many new lists and datings were discovered, but the new material, though it compelled lowering of dates at a number of points, particularly between Sargon of Accad and Hammurabi, still left a big gap between Hammurabi's immediate successors and the Amarna Age. In general, however, thanks to increasing numbers of datings given by later Assyrian kings for their early precursors, as well as to more synchronisms between Mesopotamian rulers of the second millennium, early cuneiform chronology appeared to be rather solidly established. The more conservative "long" chronologists (among whom the writer was found) followed the "Venus" (see below) chronology of Fotheringham, which placed Hammurabi's reign 2067-2025 B. C., while the radical "low" chronologists adopted Weidner's date cir. 1955-1913. Here matters rested until the discovery of the Mari Tablets (BULLETIN, No. 69, 1938) proved that Hammurabi was actually contemporary with an Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I, previously considered by most scholars as much later. Adopting the datings for Shamshi-Adad given directly by one Assyrian king of the thirteenth century and indirectly by his successor (BULLETIN, No. 69, p. 19), the writer deduced that Hammurabi could be dated about 1870-1830 B. C. This reduction had such great

¹ On this king see especially Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (1939), pp. 170 ff.

archaeological advantages that it seemed peremptory, and the writer felt safe in saying: "Of course, these dates stand or fall with the accuracy of the . . . Middle-Assyrian scribes . . . the new synchronisms yield a Babylonian chronology which seems to be minimal." Many scholars promptly criticized the reductions as too drastic, though the distinguished archaeologist M. E. L. Mallowan declared that dates were still too high.² In this contention he was seconded by Sidney Smith of the British Museum,³ whose weighty adhesion to the still slender ranks of the chronological radicals made the views of the latter respectable.

In 1940 both Sidney Smith⁴ and the writer⁵ came out independently on behalf of a still later date, and the reign of Hammurabi was fixed by the former according to the Venus cycle at 1792-1750 B. C., a precise date which the writer accepted provisionally.⁶ The writer meanwhile declared (BULLETIN, No. 77, p. 30) that the new chronological system was definitive, "allowing for a scope of error which may amount to as much as half a century but which is probably not over twenty or thirty years." Soon afterwards he became convinced that further lowering was demanded by various synchronisms and was at least strongly favored by comparative archaeological evidence.⁷

Meanwhile the scholarly world was eagerly awaiting an approach to final solution of the vexed problem through the publication of the Khorsabad list of Assyrian kings, discovered in the palace of Sargon III at Khorsabad in Assyria by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1933. After preliminary announcements of this great discovery had been made, photographs of the reverse were published by several American dailies in March, 1934. Thanks to the photographs it became possible to fix Assyrian chronology within a decade or two (various characters were hard to read in the newspaper reproduction) back toward the middle of the fifteenth century B. C., but earlier data remained entirely unknown. Finally, last July, Arno Poebel, eminent Assyriologist of the University of Chicago, began the publication of the long-awaited document, to be completed in three instalments, the second of which has just appeared.⁸ While the complete text of the list has not yet been published, it is nearly all available in description, transliteration, or photographs of the cuneiform original.

By adding the regnal years in the Khorsabad List we arrive at the date of $1726 + x - 1694 + x$ for the reign of Shamshi-Adad I, x being the sum of two reigns which are broken away on the tablet. The years are fixed by eponym lists (containing names of the *limu* functionary for each year), fragmentary parallel lists, etc., back to the reign of Aššūr-nâdin-aḥḥê I at the beginning of the fourteenth century. That the dates

² *Mélanges Dussaud*, II (1939), p. 891, n. 1 (written apparently in 1938).

³ *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), pp. 46 f.

⁴ *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940), pp. 25 ff.

⁵ BULLETIN, No. 77, pp. 25-30.

⁶ *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 319, n. 16. I was too confident in asserting that this chronology is certain "with a maximal error of not over a generation . . . on either side."

⁷ BULLETIN, No. 78, p. 23, n. 1.

⁸ *Jour. Near East. Studies*, July and October, 1942, pp. 247-306 and 460-492.

are approximately correct at least that far back is shown by the synchronism between Aššûr-uballiš I of Assyria (1362-1327 B. C. according to the Khorsabad List) and Amenophis IV of Egypt (cir. 1377-1360 B. C.),⁹ since the former began to reign in any event not long before the latter's death. The two reigns which are broken off are those of the consecutive kings Aššûr-rabi I and his successor Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I (Poebel, *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, 1942, p. 288). After a complicated discussion Poebel reaches the conclusion (*ibid.*, pp. 293, 296, 482) that both reigns were so short that neither king had an official year of his own—in other words $x = 0$. Ingenious as Poebel's treatment of the apparently conflicting datings given by different Assyrian kings for the reigns of certain predecessors is, it yet contains too many unproved assumptions to be considered as assured. In fact, it is inherently very unlikely that the Assyrian scribes were impeccable in such matters when we can prove that their Babylonian and Egyptian colleagues made many mistakes. Moreover, Aššûr-rabi I was not an insignificant king, since his grandson, Aššûr-rim-nišešu, began his genealogy with him, and since the inscriptions of Aššûr-uballiš, a century later, say that he was son of king Ellil-nâsir I and father of another king, Aššûr-nirâri II. It is, in fact, very hazardous to reckon the two reigns together below twenty years. Adopting this approximation, we should date the accession of Shamshi-Adad I about 1726 ± 20 , or cir. 1746 B. C.

The correctness of this approximation appears from other facts, especially from application of the Venus cycle. In 1912 Kugler published a convincing demonstration that certain Babylonian tablets containing omens based on exact calendric data with reference to the risings and settings of the planet Venus, went back to systematic observations during the reign of Ammi-šaduqa, tenth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The evidence is so explicit and so complete that no competent Assyriologist has doubted its cogency since the initial demonstration. In 1928 a distinguished Assyriologist, S. H. Langdon, and two eminent astronomers, J. K. Fotheringham and Carl Schoch, collaborated on a systematic treatment of the chronological bearing of the Venus Tablets.¹⁰ However, they restricted themselves to exploring all chronological possibilities between 2000 and 1750 B. C. It was not until 1940 that Sidney Smith and J. W. S. Sewell collaborated in searching for a still later date suiting the requirements of the new synchronisms.¹¹ To find such a date they went down 154 years below the lowest date considered as possible by Fotheringham and Langdon, and dated Hammurabi's reign 1792-1750 (see above). To obtain still later dates by the Venus Tablets we must descend 275 years below each of Fotheringham's five alternative dates (or 64 years after Sidney Smith's most recent date), and must place Hammurabi

⁹ So following a slightly modified Borchardt chronology, which seems assured at this point (cf. my remarks, *Jour. Egypt. Arch.*, 1937, p. 193). Contrast, however, the new chronology of Steindorff and Seele (*When Egypt Ruled the East*, 1942, p. 275), according to which the Heretic King reigned in part contemporaneously, 1387-1366 B. C. The evidence of the Khorsabad List is directly opposed to the new dates, on which we must await Seele's promised paper.

¹⁰ See Langdon and Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*.

¹¹ Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, pp. 26 ff.

1728-1686 B. C.¹² Since Shamshi-Adad I reigned 33 years and was still reigning in the tenth year of Hammurabi, he cannot have ascended the Assyrian throne more than 23 years before Hammurabi. Moreover, Mari was conquered by Hammurabi in his 32nd year,¹³ whereas Zimri-Lim of Mari reigned some 30 years and was preceded by at least 16 years of Yasmah-Adad, son and viceroy of Shamshi-Adad.¹⁴ This means that Shamshi-Adad I cannot have become king of Assyria less than about 14 years before Hammurabi. Since he doubtless ruled several years before his conquest of Mari, we can safely date his accession to power about twenty years before the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, i. e., about 1748 B. C., 22 years earlier than Poebel's minimum date cir. 1726 B. C. It cannot be denied that 22 years is an extremely reasonable figure for the sum of the two missing reigns in the Khorsabad List. This view would place the beginning of the First Dynasty of Babylon in the year 1831/30, with the first full year of its first king in 1830/29. Thanks to lists of date-formulas, we know the exact duration of the first ten reigns, and the last king, Samsu-ditana, seems to have ruled between 10 and 15 years, i. e., cir. 1561-1550, to judge from the number of date-formulas which seem attributable to his reign.¹⁵

The accompanying table will clarify the resulting chronological picture. Points which require elucidation will be explained in the foot-notes.

It will be seen after study of this table that many old historical and archaeological difficulties are now solved, and that periods of military expansion in each country dovetail nicely with similar periods in other lands. E. g., the Hyksos expansion under Khayana¹⁶ of the Fifteenth Dynasty falls in the second half of the 17th century; at that time Babylon, under Abi-eshuh, was at one of the lowest points of its military history, while Assyria was feeble, without inscriptions,¹⁷ and Hittite expansion under Labarnas and his successors had not yet begun. The Hittite expansion then falls during the Sixteenth Dynasty, when the Hyksos rulers of Lower Egypt had lost most of their power. Aleppo and Babylon were stormed by Mursilis I about the time that Amosis I was pushing into Palestine, toward the end of his reign. Immediately after the death of Mursilis the Hittite Empire collapsed, allowing the Egyptians full freedom to exploit their triumph over the Hyksos by the successive conquest of Palestine and Syria. Among many points where the revised chronology is of material help to the comparative archaeologist may be

¹² Cf. Sewell in Smith, *loc. cit.*, and O. Neugebauer, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1941, p. 59.

¹³ Thureau-Dangin in *Symbolae Paulo Koschaker dedicatae* (1939), pp. 11 f.

¹⁴ Georges Dossin, *Syria*, 1939, pp. 104 f.

¹⁵ Now conveniently collected by Ebeling in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, pp. 191 f. (1935). Only about seven of these formulas are sufficiently well preserved and chronologically clear to be referred with confidence to his reign.

¹⁶ This name, which I have elsewhere shown to be probably Northwest-Semitic (most recently in *Studies in the History of Culture* [Leland Volume], 1942, pp. 21 ff., nn. 27, 36), now turns up among characteristically Northwest-Semitic names in an early dynasty of Assur as *Hayanu* (gen. *Hayani*), who seems to have flourished toward the end of the third millennium (the name then begins with *h*, not *h*, as suggested by Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 273).

¹⁷ There is an epigraphic gap of two centuries from Shamshi-Adad I to Aššūr-nirari I (1494-1469 B. C.), under whom royal inscriptions begin again. During this period Assur seems to have been very weak.

EGYPT	PALESTINE	SYRIA-ANATOLIA	NORTH MESOPOTAMIA	BABYLONIA
Dyn. I (c. 20th cent.) ¹⁸	E. B. II (c. 29th cent.)	Judeideh XII	Gawra VIII	Warka Period (c. 32nd cent.) Jemdet-Nasr Period (c. 30th cent.)
Dyn. IV (c. 26th cent.)	E. B. III (c. 26th cent.)	Judeideh XI	Gawra VII	Early Dynastic I (c. 28th cent.)
Dyn. V (c. 25th cent.)			Gawra VI	Early Dynastic III (c. 26th cent.) Royal Tombs of Ur (c. 25th cent.) Dyn. of Accad (c. 2360-2180) Guti rule (c. 2190-2065) ¹⁹ Ur III (c. 2070-1960) Dyns. of Isin and Larsa (c. 1960-)
Dyn. VI (c. 2300) First Intermediate (22nd-21st cents.) Dyn. XII (c. 1989-1776)	E. B. IV (c. 23rd cent.) M. B. I (21st cent.)	Judeideh X Judeideh IX and Hama J	Gawra V Gawra IV	Babylon I (1830-)
T'bd Deposit (c. 1900)	Sethe texts M. B. IIIA (TBM 20 G) Posener texts ²¹ (mid-19th cent.)	Cappadocian Tablets (19th cent.) Hama H	Ilushumma (c. 1900)	Hammurabi (1728-1686) (Code of H. c. 1690) Babylon II (c. 1675) Babylon III (c. 1600)
Dyn. XIII (1776-) Nefert-hotpe ²² (c. 1740) Era of Tanis (c. 1720)	M. B. IIB (TBM E) (17th cent.) Empire of Khayana late 17th cent. Amosis in Palestine (c. 1550) Megiddo IX	Mari Age (c. 1750-1697) Hama G Hittites: Labarnas (c. 1600) Mursilis (c. 1560-) Tuthmosis I in Syria c. 1520	Shamshi-Adad (c. 1748-)	End of Dyn. I (c. 1550) Agum II (c. 1520)
Dyn. XV (c. 1700-1500)				End of Dyn. II (c. 1475)
Dyn. XVIII (c. 1570-) Amenophis I (1540-) Tuthmosis I (1525-)				Burnaburiash (c. 1370)
Hatshepsut (1490-) Tuthmosis III (1469-1436) Amenophis III (1413-1377)	Megiddo VIII Amarna Age	Hittites: Suppiliumas	Shutarna I of Mitanni (c. 1500) ²³ Saushshatar (c. 1470) (Nuzi Age) Tushratta (c. 1390) Asshur-uballit of Assyria (1362-)	

¹⁸ For early Egyptian chronology cf. the references given in *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 319 f., n. 23.
¹⁹ On the chronology of this period cf. my remarks, *BULLETIN*, No. 69, p. 20, n. 6. ²⁰ TBM = Tell Beit Mirsim (*Annual* XII-XIII, XVII).
²¹ On the date of the execration texts published by Sethe and Posener see *BULLETIN*, No. 83, pp. 32 f.
²² Nefert-hotpe was contemporary with Antin of Byblus, who is almost certainly the Yantih'-ammū of Byblus who was contemporary with Zimri-Lim of Mari, Hammurabi's rival; cf. *BULLETIN*, No. 77, pp. 27 f. (where my dates may now be lowered, thus relieving the crowded state of the early Thirteenth Dynasty in Egypt).
²³ For this king see Sidney Smith, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1935, p. 43.

mentioned the following, to which attention has not hitherto been called. After discovering traces of fortifications of Hyksos style in *terre pisée* at Tell Beit Mirsim in 1932, I proposed dating them "somewhere in the first half of the seventeenth century" (*Annual XVII*, 28 f.), basing this date on Egyptian chronology, Palestinian stratigraphy and archaeological parallels, none of which is affected by the new Mesopotamian dates. It escaped my attention that we possess an explicit testimony to the introduction of embankments of *terre pisée* into Babylonia. In the Sumerian date-formula of the last year of Hammurabi, named after an event of the preceding year (1687 B. C.), it is stated that "the wall of Sippar, the brilliant city of the Sun-god, was made of great masses of earth" (Accadian version: *eper Sipparim iššapku*, "the earth of Sippar was heaped up"). The Mari documents have proved to us that chariot-horses were coming into general use in the preceding generation, so it is scarcely surprising that earth embankments including much more extensive terrain within the fortifications, began to appear. During this half century similar fortified enclosures probably arose all over Western Asia and Lower Egypt. This is only one of many equally striking details. There can be no doubt that the Mari documents and the Khorsabad List make a really organic picture of the historical evolution of the ancient Near East possible for the first time. Henceforth ancient Near-Eastern history becomes *history*, not merely a congeries of more or less refractory data.

A FIXED DATE IN EARLY HEBREW HISTORY?

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that Hebrew chronology becomes increasingly obscure as we go back beyond the eleventh century B. C., and that no unanimity of opinion has hitherto been achieved with respect to the date of the Exodus and Conquest of Canaan, much less with reference to the chronology of the Patriarchs. If the Mesopotamian kings mentioned in Genesis XIV could be identified we should have a very important chronological peg, though even then we could not be completely sure of our ground, for reasons into which we need not enter here.

In 1921 I attempted to find a new solution of this old, but singularly elusive, problem by combining the biblical data with the early historical allusions contained in the so-called Spartoli Tablets, allusions to events which I dated in the dark age after the First Dynasty of Babylon. Chedor-laomer I identified, following previous scholars, with a supposed Elamite Kudur-Lagamar, whose name appeared, I thought (in agreement with various precursors), in the Spartoli Tablets in the rebus-like orthography characteristic of these late tablets, as *KU-KU-KU-MAL* or *KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL* (once), interpreted as *Ku-dur-laḥam-mal*.²⁴ However, we now know the names of some 40 kings of Elam who flourished between 2100 and 1100 B. C., and there is no Kudur-Lagamar among them.²⁵ Moreover, an Elamite king who successfully invaded Babylonia and the West would scarcely be forgotten in later times. The natural thing would then be to identify *KU-KU-KU-(KU)-MAL* and perhaps Chedor-laomer with Kudur-Nankhundi of Elam, called *Kuter-Nahhunte* in the Elamite

²⁴ See *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, I (1921), p. 71; *Jour. Soc. Or. Res.*, X (1926), p. 233.

²⁵ On the history of Elam consult now Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936); for chronological tables see pp. 228 ff.

inscriptions. This identification was proposed in 1917 by the late Alfred Jeremias, but he read *KU* as *nāhu* and *MAL* as *te(?)*, for which there is no cuneiform warrant whatever.²⁶ His idea seems, however, to be right; we must naturally read *K7-GA* (*MAL*), pronounced *hūnga* in Sumerian and translated into Accadian by some form of *nāhu*, "to rest."²⁷ The name is then to be read as *Kudur-Naḫuti*, using a form of the name which is documented in Elamite.²⁸

We can now, I think, go farther and seriously propose the phonetic identification of Hebrew *Kēdor-la'omer*, Greek *Chodolla(o)gomor*, with the Elamite *Kuter-Naḫunte*. The Elamites employed the Accadian voiceless stops *p, t, k* as a rule to write their stop sounds. On the other hand, the very same sounds which the Elamites wrote with Accadian *p, t, k*, were generally transcribed by the Accadians (reproducing what they thought they heard) with their own voiced stops *b, d, g*. It follows that the sounds in question were half-voiced, i. e., voiceless-unaspirated stops.²⁹ Such languages as Turkish have only half-voiced stops. Another equally significant phonetic point to be taken into consideration is that the Elamite sound (or one of the sounds) for which they employed Accadian *h* was *ḡ* (*gh*) or something very much like it. This we know from the fact that the Accadians either represented it by writing their own *h* or dropped it entirely in transcription, and from the even more striking fact that it was transcribed 'ayin, originally *ḡayin*, in Northwest Semitic (Amarite, Canaanite, Hebrew): cf. Elamite *Ha(l)tamti*, "Elam," which appears in Accadian as *Elamtu* and in Hebrew as 'Elam for older *ḡailam*.³⁰ In the second millennium B. C. Semitic *ḡayin* was still kept distinct in Northwest Semitic, just as in Arabic; it later fell together with 'ayin. Hence there are a number of fine examples of the reproduction of non-Semitic *ḡ* by Northwest-Semitic 'ayin: e. g., Heb. *šinar*, "Shinar," for older *šanḡar*, is found transcribed into Accadian cuneiform as *šanḡar* and into Egyptian as *Sanḡara*, since neither language possessed the sound *ḡ*.³¹

These observations make it very difficult to separate the Hebrew and Greek forms of the name *Kedor-laomer* (*Kēdor-la'omer* and *Chodolla[o]gomor*) from Elamite *Kuter-Naḫunte*, heard by the Babylonians as *Kudur-Naḫundi* (*Nanḫundi*) and by Northwest-Semitic tribes as **Kudur-Naḡḡundi*. Since the final Hebrew *r* can just as well be *d* (the letters looked alike for long periods: e. g., Heb. *Tid'al* in Gen. XIV appears in Greek as *Thargal*), and the first of two successive occurrences of *n* in the same word was often dissimilated,³² **Kudur-Naḡḡundi* would become **Kudur-Laḡḡundi* and the Hebrew form could just as well be **Kēdor-laḡōmēd*. Dissimilation of *nd* to *md* was common in cuneiform dialects,³³ yielding **Kudur-Laḡḡundi*.

The Elamite conqueror *Kuter-Naḫunte* is known to us from references in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king *Sardanapalus* (*Aššur-bān-apli*), from the hitherto obscure allusions in the *Spartoli Tablets*, and from a number of Elamite documents which were published and interpreted by the late Father Scheil in 1932.³⁴ The Assyrian king, writing about

²⁶ *Mitteil. Vord. Ges.*, 21 (1916), pp. 76 ff., 82.

²⁷ In a text of this late date and character, we might expect any form derived actually or theoretically from *nāhu* to be reproduced ideographically by *KU-GA*: e. g., we might have a noun **nāḫūtu* (form like *ḫābūtu* or *zārūtu*, both from verbs *med. w*) or a plural of the *gal* participle, *nāḫūti*.

²⁸ Scheil, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, 29 (1932), pp. 67, 76 (where we have the writing *Naḫudi*, i. e., *Naḫuti*).

²⁹ For the term and for some analogous phenomena see Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 1934, p. 17 ff., and for the phonetic background cf. St. Einarsson, *Language*, 1932, pp. 177 ff.

³⁰ On this name and its history see the fundamental study by A. Poebel, *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, XLVIII (1931), pp. 20 ff.

³¹ Cf. especially my remarks, *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, XL (1923), pp. 125 f.

³² Cf., e. g., Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, p. 229, 2, β; 222, 2, δ.

³³ E. g., *inamdin* for *inaddin*, *inandin*, etc. (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*,² p. 129, §65); cf. also Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 222, 2, ζ. For reciprocal dissimilations of our type cf. also Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 226, 231.

³⁴ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXIX (1932), pp. 67 ff.

640 B. C., says that Kudur-Nanḥundi sacked the temples (*ēšrēti*) of the Land of Accad (Babylonia) and devastated (*ušalpitū*) the land itself. Elsewhere he says that the Elamite had carried off the image of the goddess Nanā from Erech to Elam. The date for this event, 1635 (variant: 1535) years previously, is obviously exaggerated, but it indicates considerable antiquity for the reign of Kuter-Naḥḥunte. The Spartoli Tablets say that Kudur-Naḥuti swept like a flood over the cities of Accad and burned all their sanctuaries; he reduced the Land of Ellil (chief god of early Babylonia) to pasture-land (*unammā-ma*); he was commanded by the gods to attack Babylon itself; he plundered the temple Ekur in Nippur. The Elamite inscriptions make him the third predecessor of Kuk-našur, who was the chief ruler of Elam in the first year of the Babylonian king Ammi-šaduqa, 1582 B. C. This would locate him in the second half of the seventeenth century, perhaps about 1625-1610 B. C.³⁵ Particularly important is a broken inscription of Šilhak-in-Šušinak of Elam (cir. 1140 B. C.), where Kutir-Naḥḥunte and Temti-[Agun] are mentioned together as kings of Elam who had conquered the land of Accad.³⁶ This important passage makes it certain that Kuter-Naḥḥunte I is referred to, not the short-lived Kuter-Naḥḥunte II, son of the great conqueror Shutruk-Naḥḥunte I (cir. 1170-1150 B. C.),³⁷ since Temti-agun was associated with Kuter-Naḥḥunte I according to contemporary documents. The Spartoli Tablets may, it is true, have confused Kuter-Naḥḥunte I with his namesake, the son of Shutruk-Naḥḥunte, but as I have stressed elsewhere, the proper names which they contain carry us back toward the age of the First Dynasty, not to the end of the second millennium.³⁸

Despite the undeniable obscurity of the situation, there does seem now to be historical warrant for dating the expedition described in Gen. XIV in the late seventeenth century B. C., presumably in the time of Abi-eshuh or Ammi-ditana of Babylon and apparently during the period when Hyksos power was declining. At the same time we must remember

³⁵ Scheil's date 250 years before Ammi-šaduqa (*ibid.*, p. 66) is much too high; the dating given by the scribes of Sardanapalus cannot be taken literally (see above). Cameron's date about fifty years before the same king is probably correct. In this connection we may observe that Cameron's chronology of the five preceding kings is strained to the breaking point by his acceptance of the questionable hypothesis that Šilhaha of the Elamite lists was the same as Temti-Šilhak, father of Kudur-Mabuk, prince of Emutbal in the early eighteenth century B. C. That the name *Šilhaha* is a caritative form of a longer name containing the element *Šilhak*, is clearly right; but there is no reason whatever for identifying the two figures, against all chronological likelihood. How great the resulting strain is, will be seen from the table on p. 229 of Cameron's book, where he makes Kutir-Naḥḥunte *sukkal* of Susa under a *sukkalmaḥ* whose rule is dated conjecturally cir. 1965-1946 B. C., *sukkal* of Elam and Simash under a *sukkalmaḥ* who is provisionally dated cir. 1945-1918, and *sukkalmaḥ* himself cir. 1850-1841. In other words, he would have lived at least 105 years, which is conceivable but wholly unnecessary. The systematic rotation in office which we find under these successive rulers, should warn us against allowing more than a minimal period for the entire group.

³⁶ Scheil, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff., Cameron rejects Scheil's dating of this reference (p. 82, n. 34), but without giving any reason; moreover, he admits that the passage mentions Kuter-Naḥḥunte, Temti-agun and the land of Accad.

³⁷ As maintained by Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff. and Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁸ Cf. *Jour. Soc. Or. Res.*, 1926, p. 236.

that the narrative in question has come down through oral channels and that we need much more precise information before we can interpret it in detail. It is possible to find other contemporary parallels for names in this chapter, but most of them must remain uncertain for the present.²⁰ If this view proves to be correct, the events described from oral sources in Gen. 12-50 could be dated between 1700 and 1550 B. C., in the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age.

EXTRACTS FROM A REPORT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROGRESS IN PALESTINE

BY PROFESSOR E. L. SUKENIK

The Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University, which was built at a cost of LP 12,000 (from funds bequeathed by the late Morris Kootcher, of Windhoek, South Africa) was formally dedicated on April 3, 1941. Collections assembled in the course of many years by the Department of Archaeology of the Hebrew University form the nucleus of the new Museum. Particular interest attaches to its numerous ossuaries (small stone coffins in which the bones only are preserved). This form of burial was customary among the Jews of Jerusalem from the Hasmonean period down to the destruction of the Second Temple. The ossuaries, which are ornamented with various geometrical devices, often bear the names of the deceased in Hebrew or Greek.

The fourth season of [Suknik's] excavations at Tell Jerisheh near the Auja River (on the outskirts of Tel-Aviv) was begun in the summer of 1940. The *tell* marks the site of an ancient town whose name is still unknown. The history of the site, as the excavations show, goes back to the Early Bronze Age (third millennium B. C.). The town enjoyed its greatest prosperity and expanded to its largest area under the rule

²⁰The enigmatic allusion to *Tid'al* (i. e., *Tadġal* or *Tarġal*), king of nations or hordes (*gôyîm*), which can scarcely be separated from the Accadian *Ummân Manda* (for *Ma'da*, "numerous"), may perhaps be compared with the reference to a certain Arahab or Arah-abi (apparently Amorite *Yarah-abi*) the *Mada* (i. e., *Ma'da*) chief, whom Ammi-ditana claims to have defeated in the year 1613 B. C.—The name *Malki-sedeq* (properly *Malki-gadoq*, "my king is just") is parallel in formation to the name of the following Babylonian king *'Ammi-saduqa* and a private name *Ahi-saduq* on a cylinder from Aleppo published by Scheil, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, XIII, p. 8. It is, therefore, entirely in place in the Middle Bronze and need not be dated later because of the parallel name *Adôni-sedeq* borne by a prince of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century (*Jos.* 10: 1, 3).—In this connection we may call attention again to the fact that the name Jacob appears now in extra-biblical sources as *Ya-a' (AH)-qu-ub-ili* in a tablet from cir. 1725 B. C. discovered by Mallowan at Chagar Bazar in northern Mesopotamia (*Gadd, Iraq*, VII [1940], p. 38a). About 1470 B. C. the same name, in its full form *Ya'qob-el* ("May El protect!"), appears as the name of a town in Palestine (called after the head of a clan who lived in the immediately preceding centuries). About 1700 B. C. the closely related name *Y'qb-Hr* was borne by a Semitic chieftain of the early Hyksos period.—The name *Abâ(m)ram(a)*, "Abram," appears on tablets from the years 1572-1568 B. C. (cf. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1935, pp. 193 ff.).—The name *Aburahana*, possibly "Abraham," is found in the execration texts from cir. 1850 B. C. published by Posener in 1940 (*BULLETIN*, No. 83, p. 34).

name
Jacob-el
1725.

of the Hyksos in Palestine during the seventeenth century B. C. It was then surrounded by a massive glacis built of alternate layers of sand and earth and reinforced with brick walls. Thanks to the fact that the glacis was in an excellent state of preservation, it was possible to determine the type of fortification used in the town more accurately than on any other site so far excavated. The Jerisheh glacis is a perfect example of Hyksos fortifications [see above, p. 33.—W. F. A.]. In the Late Bronze Period, too, the town enjoyed considerable prosperity, as can be inferred from remains of buildings and fairly numerous imported objects (chiefly from Cyprus). In the succeeding Iron Age a decline set in, and the site was finally abandoned in the eleventh or tenth century B. C.

In 1925-27 Drs. L. A. Mayer and E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University excavated part of the so-called Third Wall of Jerusalem, which was begun by Agrippa and hastily completed after the outbreak of the great Jewish rebellion against Rome. These excavations were resumed in 1940, when a new section of the wall was laid bare forming a continuous line with the sections previously found. The latest discovery consists of the lowest course of a wall and a tower just over thirteen metres wide. In 1941, when work was resumed by the University jointly with the American School of Oriental Research, a further section of the wall and another tower some twenty metres long and seven and a half wide were found. This second tower is the largest so far discovered on the Third Wall. The two sections excavated in 1940 and 1941 have a combined length of 275 metres. Beginning from the Swedish School (where the excavations were started) the wall extends in a straight line for a distance of 750 metres. Behind the second tower mentioned above, which is near the slope of the Kedron Valley, the wall is diverted in a southerly direction. Should further excavations reveal the exact point at which the wall changes its direction, one of the most vexed problems of the topography of ancient Jerusalem will have been solved. [See BULLETIN, No. 83, pp. 4-7.]

In 1940 and 1941 several ancient Jewish burial caves were investigated by the Museum. From the architectural point of view the most interesting of these caves are some near the village of Silwan on the Jericho Road. One is a four-story catacomb hewn out in the rock, with seven chambers containing fifty burial niches in the form of *kôkhîm* and arcossolia. The entrance, which is decorated with a gable with acroteria and two pilasters, is reached through a small courtyard in front of the cave. Above some of the niches are graffiti, one of which can be deciphered as "Martha." The importance of the burial ground is emphasized by a flight of steps leading down into the valley. The date of the tomb is approximately that of the reign of Herod the Great.

In the village of Bethany a burial cave was found dating approximately from the second century A. D., a fact which leads to the inference that the villages in the environs of Jerusalem were inhabited by Jews even after the Bar Kokhba rebellion, when they were forced to live outside the city itself.

Burial caves have also been cleared in the Kedron Valley. Some have long since been completely ransacked, but they are of archaeological

interest owing to their layout and structure. Fortunately, five were still closed, and these contained numerous ossuaries painted red and yellow, variously ornamented, and bearing inscriptions in Aramaic and Greek. Earthenware vessels in the cave were of great use in determining the period, which has been fixed as beginning with the Hasmoneans and continuing through the reigns of the Herods until just before the destruction of the Second Temple. From the inscriptions on the ossuaries it is obvious that the caves were used as burial places not only for Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem but of other Palestinian towns as well, and possibly also for Jews from other countries.

In one cave ten ossuaries were found arranged in two rows, one above the other, on a shelf hewn out of the stone floor. Though without ornamentation, all these ossuaries bear inscriptions either carved in the stone or traced in green paint. The feminine names include "Shabbatith" and "Aristobula" (feminine form of "Aristobulus," a name borne by many members of the Hasmonean and Herodian families), neither of which had previously been found in Palestinian inscriptions of the period. The name "Jacob" occurs for the first time on an ossuary here, and another bears the double appellation "Alexander Qarnith."

In another cave there were eight *kôkhîm*, three of which contained ossuaries with rosettes. Only two bore inscriptions, one of which (written in black on the side) gives the name of Simeon bar Kaspai, who seems to have belonged to the guild of the silver-smiths. On another ossuary in this cave the proper name "Sabora," which seems to signify sage or wise man, appears twice.

In one cave there is a separate room for ossuaries in addition to *kôkhîm*. Among the Hebrew names carved on the lids or sides of the ossuaries are "John," "Jonathan," and the like. The front of one of the ossuaries bears the names of six members of a family, including the feminine names "Salome" and "Mariame" (Mary), and the masculine names "Eliezer" and "Joseph." The carved ornamentation on the ossuaries is of especial interest, as it represents buildings, and is therefore helpful in determining the contemporary styles of architecture.

NEW DOCUMENTS FROM NUZI¹

The vast quantities of tablets discovered at Yorghana Tepe, the ancient Nuzi, were divided between the American School at Baghdad (now temporarily stored at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)² and the Semitic Museum of Harvard which received the lion's

¹ *Excavations at Nuzi*, Vol. IV: *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi*, Part I, by Robert H. Pfeiffer and Ernest R. Lacheman, *Harvard Semitic Series*, Vol. XIII, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. ix + 105; plates X. Price \$5.00.

² Published in *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi, Publications of the Baghdad Schools*, Vols. I (Paris, 1927), II (Paris, 1930), III (Paris, 1931), IV-V (Philadelphia, 1934), by Edward Chiera; and Vol. VI (New Haven, 1939), by E. R. Lacheman. Also "New Nuzi Texts and a New Method of Copying Cuneiform Tablets," by E. R. Lacheman, in *JAOS* LV (1935) 429-31 and 6 plates.

share, namely, over 4,000 tablets. 367 of these Harvard tablets had been published before the appearance of the present volume,³ leaving over 3,000 texts to be dealt with. Pfeiffer and Lacheman are undertaking the burden of publishing this immense backlog and the volume under review (which contains nearly 400 tablets) is the first step toward executing this vast project in a methodical and comprehensive manner.

As in *Annual XVI*, the texts are only transliterated, but are not copied. This last mentioned procedure is unnecessary now in view of the knowledge of Kirkuk script that can be gained by perusal of the considerable number of texts that have already been published in copied form. In addition the expense and time necessary for preparing copies for publication would provide an unessential handicap severely hampering the project to which the two co-authors have dedicated themselves.

Accuracy in transliteration is achieved through strict adherence to the Thureau-Dangin system. This procedure insures correct appraisal of the underlying signs and the correct variants on the part of anyone differing with the authors in reading and interpretation, about which differences of opinion are unavoidable. Pfeiffer and Lacheman go to even greater lengths in aiding the reader in such matters, for doubtful signs and damaged passages are discussed and reproduced on pp. 98-104.

At the end of the volume there are ten plates on which are reproduced eight important Semitic Museum texts. Of these, three⁴ are reproductions of key texts appearing in this volume, for they contain the same items and personal names which form the burden of a considerable portion of the other texts transliterated in the volume. Also reproduced are the four texts⁵ previously published in *Annual XVI* which deal with oil rations for the gods. A final text⁶ enumerating objects and containing interesting Hurrian words is a very welcome addition.

It is to be hoped that this volume presages others in the same vein.

PIERRE M. PURVES

SOME RECENTLY RECEIVED BOOKS

Outstanding among archaeological publications recently received is Vol. LVIII of the *Oriental Institute Publications* of the University of Chicago, *Pre-Sargonic Temples in the Diyala Region* (University of Chicago Press, 1942, xvii + 320 pp. with 213 figures in the text + 30 pls. and folding charts) by Pinhas Delougaz and Seton Lloyd, with chapters by Henri Frankfort (general director of the Iraq Expedition) and Thorkild Jacobsen. The volume is a model of what an archaeological

³ Published in *Excavations at Nuzi*, Vol. I, *Harvard Semitic Series*, Vol. V (1929) by Edward Chiera, Vol. II, *Harvard Semitic Series*, Vol. IX (1932) by Robert H. Pfeiffer; *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts*, transliterated by Robert H. Pfeiffer with translations and commentary by E. A. Speiser, *Annual XVI* (1935-36). Also "SU = Siqlu," by E. R. Lacheman, *JAOS* LVII (1937), 181-4. This tabulation does not include 230 pre-Nuzi texts found at the same site and published by Theophile James Meek in *Excavations at Nuzi*, Vol. III, *Harvard Semitic Series* X (1935).

⁴ Catalogue Nos. SMN 21, 132, 165.

⁵ Catalogue Nos. SMN 491, 690, 799, 2153 + 2154, appearing respectively as texts 47-50 in *Annual XVI*.

⁶ SMN 1434.

publication should be: text, plans and photographs are equally good. Moreover the excavations themselves were so well organized and so satisfactorily recorded that the critic is left with nothing tangible to criticize. The Oriental Institute, Professor Frankfort, and his associates are all to be congratulated on a magnificent job. What this publication means for the relative chronology of Sumerian culture, for the history of Sumerian architecture and related subjects, can scarcely be exaggerated by a sober reviewer. There are few and unimportant inscriptions, but Dr. Jacobsen has managed to extract what information there is, as well as to make a number of exceptionally important philological observations (e. g., pp. 292-4, 297-8).

Also from the Oriental Institute is the third part of Professor Ignace J. Gel's *Hittite Hieroglyphs* (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 21, 1942, xix + 75 pp.), which again advances our still scanty knowledge of the hieroglyphic Hittite script, besides making valuable contributions to our even more limited material for Hittite grammar (noun and pronoun). We congratulate the author on a fine piece of work. Much arduous research remains, however, before we can make reasonably sure translations of any complete inscription in hieroglyphic Hittite.

Several young British archaeologists have collaborated on an extremely useful archaeological survey of ancient sites (mostly mounds) in the Plain of Jabbul east of Aleppo in northern Syria ("An Archaeological Survey of the Plain of Jabbul, 1939," by R. Maxwell Hyslop, J. du Plat Taylor, M. V. Seton Williams, J. D'A. Waechter, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, April, 1942, pp. 8-40, with 10 pls.). The sherds have been well handled, and seem to be correctly dated. The reconnaissance of the writer in 1931 has not yet been published in detail; a brief account of it appeared in the *Bulletin*, No. 49 (Feb. 1933), pp. 30 f. (understandably overlooked by the authors). In a future study of this kind the Arab names of the visited sites should be reproduced with more care for phonetic precision, in view of the importance which such names often have for historical topography.

Professor W. H. Worrell of the University of Michigan has published another of his valuable Coptic volumes, *Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collections* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942, xiii + 375 pp. + 11 pls., \$5.00). Worrell and his collaborators have done a splendid job of editing Old-Testament texts on vellum, letters and documents on papyrus, and other documents and letters on ostraca. The distinguished authority on Greek papyri, Professor H. C. Youtie, and the editor have collaborated with remarkable success in the elucidation of a curious group of ostraca, called *etmálon*, "to the mill," the first specimens of which were published in 1927. The last two chapters of the book, by Worrell and Werner Vycíchl, will attract Egyptologists, since these chapters contain the official publication of the traditions of spoken Coptic still surviving in Christian villages of Upper Egypt, called today Zēnyah. The existence of a living Coptic tradition was unknown until Vycíchl described it in 1936. Worrell followed him to the site and the collaboration of the two eminent philologists has produced extraordinary results, presented with the linguistic brilliancy for which Worrell is celebrated among the *cognoscenti*. The reviewer hopes to discuss the subject in detail elsewhere.

A recent arrival in this country, Dr. Wolf Leslau, formerly of Vienna and subsequently of Paris, was able to bring out copies of his valuable work *Documents Tigrigna* (Paris, 1941, ix + 388 pp. and 15 folding charts) when he was forced to leave France. The volume contains original narratives in the Tigrigna dialect of northern Abyssinia, taken down by the author from a native informant, as well as a detailed grammatical analysis of this comparatively little-known dialect. The work has been extremely well done, and will be of direct value both to Semitists and to persons requiring a knowledge of Tigrigna for practical purposes. We congratulate the author.

I have received a number of books in the field of Judaica, which are quite outside of our field in the BULLETIN but merit the widest possible circulation. Foremost among them are the first three quarto volumes of Professor Louis Ginsberg's great work, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud* (in Hebrew, with a valuable English introduction of 60 pages, New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1941). Covering nearly 1500 pages, it is a true *monumentum aere perennius* for its distinguished author. In view of the outstanding importance of the Yerushalmi as a source of data bearing on Palestinian life and topography in the first centuries of the Christian era, this work has direct importance for the student of ancient Palestine—consider, for instance, the extent to which Dalman draws on the Jerusalem Talmud in his *Orte und Wege Jesu* and *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*.—From the Jewish Theological Seminary comes also the brilliant book by Professor Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II-IV Centuries C. E.* (New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1942, pp. ix + 207), in which the foremost younger talmudist of our day shows the extent to which Greek language and usages influenced the Jews of Palestine. Naturally many of the comparisons are open to criticism, but there can be no doubt that the total picture is correct. If the author had included the data used by S. Krauss in his standard (but already antiquated) *Archäologie des Talmuds*, the picture would have been far more impressive, but the conclusions would have remained unchanged.—Dr. Abraham Neuman, president of Dropsie College in Philadelphia, has brought out a valuable work on *The Jews in Spain*, in two solid volumes full of interesting matter, all carefully documented (Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1942, pp. xxxi + 286 and xi + 399). From Dr. Neuman's pen comes also *Cyrus Adler, a Biographical Sketch* (New York, the American Jewish Committee, 1942, pp. ix + 233). Attractively written and printed, it is a worthy memorial of a great man, to whom the Schools owe a lasting debt (cf. BULLETIN, No. 78, 1 ff., No. 84, pp. 24 f.).—Political and social trends of today are the subject of two very useful books, *Essays on Anti-Semitism*, edited by Professor Koppel S. Pinson (New York, Conference on Jewish Relations, 1942), and *British Policy in Palestine*, by Professor Paul L. Hanna (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1942).

All persons interested in Near-Eastern archaeology, in Syria, and in the American University of Beirut are urgently advised to subscribe for *Berytus*, a journal which has already made itself indispensable. The journal was inaugurated in Beirut, found a second home in Copenhagen, and will, we hope, find a more durable home in this country, where Volume VII, Part I, is about to appear, under the editorship of Professor Harald Ingholt (Associate Trustee of the Schools). The subscription price for the entire volume is \$3.00, which may be sent to the Near East College Association, 50 West 50th St., New York City.

W. F. A.

PROFESSOR GLUECK'S NEWS-LETTERS FROM PALESTINE

If any person interested in the work of the Schools or in Palestine does not get a chance to read these News-letters, he is missing a real treat. Since the April number of the BULLETIN appeared, there have been eight of these fascinating communications from Palestine (Nos. 9-16), dated from May 7 to August 22, containing more than fifty closely typed sheets of mimeographed matter. Anyone not now receiving them will do so on becoming an Associate Member of the Schools. Write at once to New Haven!

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Offprint Series

E. A. Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.*, 1933 \$0.60

Publications of the Jerusalem School

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TEXTS: JOINT EXPEDITION WITH THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT NUZI (Vols. I-III are published by Geuthner; Vols. IV-V by the Univ. of Pennsylvania Press; Vol. VI by the Schools).

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EXCAVATIONS (Published by the University of Pennsylvania Press).

Vol. I. *Tepe Gawra*. E. A. Speiser. 1935. \$6.00.

TEXTS: JOINT EXCAVATION WITH HARVARD UNIVERSITY AT NUZI (Published by Harvard University Press).

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EXCAVATIONS (Harvard University Press).

Nuzi, Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq. R. F. S. Starr. Vol. II (Plates), 1937. \$10.00; Vol. I (Text), 1939. \$5.00.

The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible. Edited by Elihu Grant. 1938. \$2.00.

Geraca, City of the Decapolis. Edited by Carl H. Kraeling. 1938. \$10.00

The Other Side of the Jordan. Nelson Glueck. 1940. \$2.50.

What Mean These Stones? Millar Burrows. 1941. \$2.50.

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